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A third space to overcome cultural uprooting and marginalisation? Theorising Seine-Saint-Denis teachers' understanding of their use of French rap in the classroom

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A third space to overcome cultural uprooting and marginalisation? Theorising Seine-Saint-Denis teachers' understanding of their use of French rap in the classroom (Valentin Chenier)
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In 2018, Issaba, a passionate life-long rapper and mathematics teacher from a middle school in Seine-Saint-Denis, created a buzz with his rap songs depicting concepts from the official mathematics curriculum. Issaba's use of French rap as a pedagogical tool is not an isolated case in Seine-Saint-Denis, teachers of various subjects have integrated French rap in their courses in diverse manners.

Seine-Saint-Denis is a French department known for concentrating societal difficulties such as poverty, unemployment, and criminality. Most schools in Seine-Saint-Denis are labelled REP (Réseaux d'Éducation Prioritaires – Priority Education Networks) due to their underperformance and student population of low socio-economic status.

While the Hip-Hop-based education (HHBE) studies in the USA look at the use of rap music in the classroom, there is no research to date dealing with uses of French rap in French public schools. Although the USA-centred HHBE typically focus on disadvantaged urban schools, a context of schooling arguably comparable to the one of REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis, contextual differences between the USA and France remain too important for applying the HHBE framework to the French context. This research thus aims at theorising the understanding of Seine-Saint-Denis REP middle school teachers of their uses of French rap in the classroom in relation to their specific context of schooling.

The primary data of this study thus consists of interviews of Issaba and seven other Seine-Saint-Denis REP middle school teachers using French rap as a pedagogical tool. Fieldwork observation notes and pictures, and reviews of governmental documents and Issaba's songs constitute complimentary data. The use of Constructivist Grounded Theory as a research method is applied in order to develop a theory rooted in the context of this research and free from the influence of existing HHBE frameworks. This approach combined with phenomenographic leanings allow me to generate an abstract theory from the concrete experience of participants.

The emerging theory builds upon the fact that participants' use of French rap in the classroom is context-contingent in the sense that it answers to contextual challenges, namely: the marginalisation of REP schools, notably due to students' socialisation lag compromising the learning of curricular content knowledge. French rap creates a third space that helps participants bridge the gap between students and the French School's norms of socialisation, ultimately making the experience of REP schools closer to that of mainstream schools.

Keywords: French rap, REP School, Seine-Saint-Denis, Constructivist Grounded Theory, Third space, Rhizome, Cultural legitimacy

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"Et à l'école ils m'disaient d'lire, voulaient m'enseigner qu'j'étais libre
Va t'faire niquer toi et tes livres"
(Lunatic, *Homme de l'iombre*, 2001)

to

"À part dans le foot ou dans le bédo 25 piges qu'on me traite comme un singe
2009 la roue tourne comme un oinj et l'éducation nationale est endeuillé
Parce que j'ai eu mon bac les doigts dans le nez"
(Kennedy, *Yes we Can*, 2009)

through

"Moi qui voulais faire du rap français une passerelle vers les grandes écoles"
(Médine, *Biopic*, 2012)

1.1. Research background: Issaba's songs, a first instance of French rap in the classroom

In 2018, Issaba, a French middle school mathematics teacher created a buzz with a series of videos he had been publishing on YouTube. The clips consisted of covers of iconic French rap songs he realised, but the lyrical content was changed for typical mathematical notions from the middle school curriculum – statistics, circles, or Pythagoras's theorem among others. General media's articles presented Issaba's tracks as pedagogical tools to support middle-schoolers' learning of mathematics and help nine-graders prepare for the National Diploma. In fact, Issaba demonstrates a similar perspective in his songs:

> Arrivé en France peu de temps avant qu' je naisse / Le rap est devenu la zique la plus écoutées par la jeunesse / Donc on n' pourra pas me dire que / C' n'est pas logique / D'envisager d'en faire un levier / Pédagogique / Ouais ça plaira au p'tits / Et en plus de l'aspect divertissant / Est-ce que rapper des leçons peut devenir un outil pertinent ?

> [Arrived in France soon before I was born / Rap became the youth's favourite music / So no one can tell me that / It ain't logical / To consider making it a / Pedagogical tool / Yeah kids will like it / Besides its entertaining aspect / Can rapping lessons become a relevant tool ?] (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, *Great Teacher Issaba – Rapématiques (Leçon 05: Remix 113)*, 2018d)

Issaba's buzz is also due to the fact that he is an authentic rapper, being as passionate about French rap as about mathematics, although he never intended to lead a professional career in music. The quality of his tracks even happened to earn him the 'validation' of some of the rappers he covered. This is the case of Kery James (iconic French rapper known for his consciousness-raising rap) for instance who joined Issaba and his pupils for the video clip of the song (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, *Great Teacher Issaba – Statistiques (Leçon 02: Remix Kery James)*, 2018a) (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 *(From left to right) Kery James and Issaba among Issaba's pupils - Caption from Great Teacher Issaba – Statistiques (Leçon 02: Remix Kery James) (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2018a)*

The discovery of Issaba's songs and reading of related press articles established the start of this research. This buzz around Issaba's practice raised my interest, especially since all articles mentioned that Issaba taught in a Seine-Saint-Denis school. This French department typically receives a negative depiction by general media due to its numerous societal issues – stereotypically: delinquency, criminality, poverty, debates over the socio-cultural integration of its high share of post-colonial migrants. Seine-Saint-Denis schools are equally presented by

mass media as challenging working environment for teachers, with reported lower academic performance and allegedly acute behaviour issues. Additionally, Seine-Saint-Denis is also an emblematic place among the French Hip hop and rap sphere as the department bore countless rappers among which some of the most iconic notorious ones to date (Piolet, 2016).

After reaching out to Issaba through his social media and explaining him about my research plan, which would thus focus on the use of French rap in the classroom by Seine-Saint-Denis public school teachers, he informed me that he knew a significant number of middle school teachers across the department who featured French rap in their courses. He added that they did so in different manners that varied a lot from his approach – from analysing the lyrical content of French rap songs to making students write a song for example.

This research aims at theorising Seine-Saint-Denis REP and REP+ middle school teachers' understanding of their use of French rap in the classroom in relation to their schooling context. The Constructivist Grounded Theory qualitative tradition with phenomenographic leanings is used for data collection and analysis since I am willing to create an emerging theory based on participants' experiences and perspectives instead of verifying existing concepts. The following section of this chapter describes the research sites. Making sense of the contextual significance of the research sites is essential as they influenced the chosen overall approach to the research. The construction of my research approach is thoroughly explained in the following chapter, including a justification of the choice of research method and research question. The same chapter also provides a detailed description of the methodology used and how it applies to in this research. The next five chapters are respectively dedicated to describing the data and the process of data collection in Constructivist Grounded Theory and it applies to this research, detailing the data analysis – of theorising process – which concludes with an initial version of the emerging theory, revising the theory thanks to the support of extant literature, presenting the emerging theory, and finally concluding with a sum up of and discussion on the overall research process and emerging theory.

1.2. Research sites

This research was conducted in two REP+ middle schools and one REP middle school in Seine-Saint-Denis. The first part of this section provides a contextual description of Seine-Saint-Denis, while the latter part focuses on the specificities of schooling in the department.

1.2.1. Seine-Saint-Denis

Seine-Saint-Denis is a metropolitan French department located on the northeast outskirts of Paris. The contextual description of this territory provided in this section is based on a 2018 official report by the French Assemblée Nationale (National Assembly). The document aims at assessing public policies implemented in Seine-Saint-Denis with an emphasis on three main strands: education, justice, and security. In order to do so, contextual empirical descriptions of the territory are provided, highlighting the particularities of Seine-Saint-Denis in terms of social, cultural, and economic settings. This report represents the first historical instance of assessment of a specific territory by a parliamentary institution (Assemblée Nationale, 2018, p. 5). This choice is motivated by the concentration of societal difficulties within the department which demonstrates the highest rates in metropolitan France of population with a migration background, poverty, unemployment, and criminality (Assemblée Nationale, 2018, p. 9).

Seine-Saint-Denis thus undergoes marginalisation and stigmatisation due to its various societal difficulties. The National Assembly's report even refers to it as potential "phenomena of urban ghettoization" (2018, p. 26). As a matter of fact, the document mentions that the department is typically referred to by its administrative number, 9-3, rather than by its actual name (Assemblée Nationale, 2018, p. 6). This way of referring to Seine-Saint-Denis is now common and was popularised from local rappers (Piolet, 2016). 9-3 acts as a strong identifier of Seine-Saint-Denis as a territory that differs from the other ones due to its local difficulties.

The significance of societal difficulties in Seine-Saint-Denis translates into the important concentration of 'cités' in the department. 'Cité' is a French word commonly used to label suburban state-subsidised housing projects. While expressions such as 'disadvantaged neighbourhoods' or 'housing estates' could be used, the word 'cité(s)' is deliberately kept in its

French version in this paper in order to reflect the contextual specificities of this type of environment very typical to France: its remote suburban location, the low socio-economic status and multiculturality of its dwelling population that counts a significant share of post-colonial migrants, and its societal difficulties. While participants typically use the word 'cité' in their interviews, they may also simply talk of 'suburbs', 'the Parisian suburb', or '9-3' to refer to the same environment.

1.2.2. School in Seine-Saint-Denis

The National Assembly report (2018) states that Seine-Saint-Denis students are more inclined to school failure than their counterparts from other departments due to the territory's socio-economic status (p. 9-10). To counter negative out-of-school environmental factors of dropout and school failure, the French state established the Réseaux d'Éducation Prioritaires (REP – Priority Education Networks). In the Ministry of National Education's dedicated webpage, the purpose of REP schools is stated as follows:

> "The priority education policy aims at correcting the impact of social and economic inequalities on school success by reinforcing the pedagogical and educational action in the schools of territories encountering the greatest social difficulties." (Ministère de l'Education Nationale de la Jeunesse et des Sports, 2020)

According to the official national website dedicated to priority education, REP schools are defined as schools afflicted with "more significant social difficulties than middle and primary schools situated out of the priority education realm" (Réseaux Canopé, 2020). REP+ schools are similar to REP schools but with greater social difficulties and social homogeneity among the student population, presumably negatively impacting on students' academic success. Both REP and REP+ schools are designed by the states in accordance with local academies.

In fact, a majority of schools in Seine-Saint-Denis are labelled REP or REP+ (National Assembly, 2018, p. 10). Moreover, the Seine-Saint-Denis department also counts the highest rate of inexperienced teachers – teaching for the first time – among its schools, including in the schools with the greatest difficulties, which contributes to the existing discipline and pedagogical issues (National Assembly, 2018, p. 42). The higher rate of sick leave among Seine-Saint-

Denis teachers compared to the national level also seems to indicate the hardship of their job in such a context of schooling (National Assembly, 2018, p. 46). Additionally, the National Assembly report signals unequal means between Seine-Saint-Denis schools and the inner-Paris schools at the expense of the former ones, despite the REP and REP+ policies supposed to be synonymous to extra funding, "Sociologist Mr. Benjamin Moignard indicated that the least equipped Parisian school is better equipped than the most equipped school in Seine-Saint-Denis" (Assemblée National, 2018, p. 40). In short, while Seine-Saint-Denis demonstrates a higher share of REP and REP+ schools than other French departments due to local societal difficulties, the National Assembly's report (2018) seems to reveal that the department's schools represent particularly demanding working environment for teachers.

One should note that this research paper features two different versions of the same word: 'school(s)' and 'School'. The former refers to individual schools, or a given group of individual schools, while the latter, 'School' spelt with a capital letter, has a more abstract definition as it refers to an institution, formal schooling, or the Academy. Several instances of Schools are dealt with through this paper, the nature of the institution is thus necessarily defined by the terms preceding 'School' (e.g. the French Republican School, the REP school, the peripheral School).

2. CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY AS A RESEARCH APPROACH

This chapter explains the evolution of the research process in terms of research approach, focus, and scope. This latter section justifies the use of Constructivist Grounded Theory for this study and introduces the research question.

2.1. Evolution of the research: shift in the research purpose, scope, and approach

In order to initiate the research I first searched how Issaba's case could integrate existing academic concepts and discussions. I thus familiarized myself with literature relating to French rap music and rap music in formal educational settings. This documentation resulted in the first focus of my research which guided my first data collection in Seine-Saint-Denis REP and REP+ schools. However, this first fieldwork enlightened me on biases affecting my research. Those biases were due to a too important consideration of the theories and concepts encountered through related literature and a lack of contextualisation. This account triggered a significant shift in my research approach, focus, and scope.

This section thus starts with elements taken from the aforementioned documentation, providing a contextual definition of French rap, detailing its roots in Hip Hop culture, and an introduction to Hip Hop studies and more specifically the significance of rap music in the academic field of education. The remainder of this section describes the evolution of my research focus and scope, from the acknowledgement of my biases to the establishment of the final research approach and research question. Thus, this section also justifies the choice of research method and introduces to the research questions.

2.1.1. Connecting Issaba's case to existing academic concepts: French rap and Hip Hop studies

French rap music and Hip Hop culture

French rap music is now beyond popular in France. While this musical genre overwhelms the media it is still subject to different forms of cultural ostracization (Guillard & Sonnette, 2020).

In fact, this marginalisation partly finds its roots in the fact that French rap originates from a culture of resistance to systemic oppression imported from the USA: Hip hop (Guillard & Sonnette, 2020).

Hip hop is an urban cultural movement that first appeared in the 70's Bronx and which most basic definition consists of its four core elements: (1) DJing, being understood as the mix of musical records, (2) MCing, or Rapping, performed by Masters of Ceremony (MCs) and characterised by a rhythmic, poetic and eloquent semi-sung, usually delivered over a DJ's instrumental (beat), (3) B-Boying, referring to the practice of an acrobatic dance style also referred to as Breaking, and (4) Graffiti, an often vandal form of artistic expression performed on public spaces (i.e. street walls) using spray paint cans (Chang, 2005).

The previous paragraph presents Hip Hop culture through its artistic features, however, not only is Hip hop a culture of entertainment, but it is also a "social political movement" rooted in social justice (Adjapong, 2017, p.) and "protest against institutional oppression" (Peoples 2008, p. 23, as cited in Buffington & Day, 2018, p. 98). Indeed, the Hip hop culture is tied to its context of emergence: a post-industrial Bronx dwelled by racialised minorities – African-Americans and Latinx – and plagued with economic crisis and societal issues such as rising crime rate, gang violence, drug epidemic, unemployment, political corruption, and lack of funding for social services such as education (Adjapong, 2017; Diaz, 2011; Chang, 2005). Although it originated from the Bronx, marginalised minority youth from across the USA facing the same socio-economic hardship appropriated Hip hop culture, and so rap music, and used it to entertain, voice, and empower themselves, and gather around a community of political resistance and protest.

Abogo (2016) states that "although created by Black Americans, Hip hop is received in all regions of the globe and henceforth constitutes a global culture". The culture is imported to France in the 80's and French rap demonstrates a progressive commercial success (Béru, 2008). French rap music first develops among disadvantaged suburban neighbourhoods located on the periphery of major cities. The disenfranchised French youth who first appropriated rap music was afflicted with comparable societal issues to the ones experienced by the first American Hip hop community: socio-economic exclusion, spatial segregation, concentration of poverty, unemployment, criminality, and racism (Prévos, 1996 ; Béru, 2008). However, in the French context, French rap is not racialised in the same way its American counterpart is. Abogo (2016)

and Béru (2008) identify the first French rappers as mainly the children of post-colonial migrants.

Rap and Hip Hop culture in the academia

Since the 80's Hip Hop culture has become a topic of interest in the academia for various study fields, notably sociology and cultural studies, and the term "Hip Hop studies" gained legitimacy in the 2000's partly thanks to the 2004 work of Mark Anthony Neal, *That's the joint!: The hip-hop studies reader*.

Among the variety of existing Hip Hop studies, a particular framework emerged in the USA, the one of Hip-Hop-based-education (HHBE). HHBE does not necessarily refer to the teaching of Hip Hop practices, it rather consists of using any element of the culture in order to teach identified minority student populations and promote social justice. This type of practice typically focuses on urban Black and Latinx students in the USA, typical facing societal and school inequalities. HHBE education builds upon the premise that these students have an explicit connection to the Hip hop culture. This framework thus assumes the school curriculum is made more culturally adequate to urban Black and Latinx students and support their process of identity formation by integrating Hip Hop to it. In this sense, HHBE draws on Ladson-Billing's theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (1995). Some authors such as Akom (2009), Adjapong (2017), Baszile (2009), Stovall (2006), Shelby-Caffey, Byfield and Solbrig (2018), or Alim (2007) advocate for a HHBE educating youth to become agents of societal changes and refer to this approach as Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy (CHHP). CHHP draws from critical theory and Freire's critical pedagogy (1996). Overall, the American HHBE framework focuses on Hip-Hop-related, or Hip-Hop-inspired teaching practices and curricula targeted to racialised and disenfranchised minority youth.

2.1.2. Acknowledging biases and taking consideration of the local context

During our first contact over a phone call, Issaba confirmed he was teaching in a REP+ school with a majority of students living in a nearby disadvantaged neighbourhood. This given context of schooling is significantly comparable to the one of HHBE: schools located in disadvantaged and marginalised urban neighbourhoods where out-of-school social and economic factors negatively impact on students' academic success. Although the typical American racial focus does

not formally nor legally apply in the French context – ethnic and religious censuses being illegal in France. Nevertheless, this racial focus in the context of HHBE in the USA can be compared to the focus on the socio-economic status of students, that is notably at the core of France priority education policies. Indeed, in the song *Great Teacher Issaba – GTI (Leçon 0)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2017) Issaba refers to his school by simply using the acronym REP:

> Ils t'expliqueront les tits-pe d' ma REP [They'll explain it to you, the kids from my REP school]

Issaba also demonstrates his awareness of the impact of out-of-school factors on school success in *Great Teacher Issaba – Rapématiques (Leçon 05: Remix 113)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2018d) as he calls some local cities – implying their respective disadvantage neighbourhoods – and depicts the in- and out-of-school difficulties his pupils may encounter:

> Ouais mec ouais meuf c'est là qu' j'enseigne / Montreuil Saint-Denis Ivry Epinay-sur-Seine / Des élèves en souffrance élèves dissipés / Des actes de violences et des guerres de cités / Mais la majorité finira diplômé.e.s [Yeah man yeah girl this is where I teach / Montreuil Saint-Denis Ivry Epinay-sur-Seine / Suffering students undisciplined students / Violence and neighbourhood wars / But most of them will end up graduating]

This verse ends with a touch of hope with Issaba claiming that most his pupils will end up getting a higher education degree. In fact, this claim connects to another reference that Issaba often uses. While his normal artistic pseudonym is simply Issaba, he publishes his "lessons" under the name of Great Teacher Issaba (GTI). This is a reference to Great Teacher Onizuka (GTO), main character of the eponymous Manga. The particularity of GTO among other teachers is his use of original pedagogical strategies allowing him to successfully teach Japan's most difficult students, where all his predecessors failed. Therefore, Issaba seems to acknowledge the difficulties of his school but remains determined to lead his students to academic success, and his rap songs may be part of the process. Though, unlike HHBE, so far Issaba's practice does not appear to be rooted in social justice. At this point, I thus wondered: has Issaba's practice any (explicit or intended) social justice implication? Or does it at least relate to this specific context of schooling (REP+ school in Seine-Saint-Denis)? Can we consider Issaba's practice as encompassed within the realm of HHBE? Can we even talk about HHBE education in the context of schooling in France?

In an attempt to find a potential answer to these questions, I searched for literature relating to a potential French HHBE framework. Considering the facts that French Hip hop was imported from the US, that Issaba's school's setting is comparable to the ones where HHBE is enforced, and the fact that Issaba's use of French rap as a pedagogical tool is not an isolated case in Seine-Saint-Denis, one could thus expect existing literature about Hip Hop and education in France. Yet, there are no studies to date dealing with a potential French HHBE or the use of French rap as a pedagogical tool in French public schools.

Taking into consideration this research gap, my first ambition through this study was to open the path to designing a framework for the study of a French HHBE. Due to the previously mentioned reasons – French Hip Hop being an imported product from the USA and comparable contexts of schooling to those of HHBE – this potential framework would draw on the existing HHBE literature, mostly focusing on the context of the USA. My first approach thus consisted of evaluating to what extent the French cases compared to the USA. Therefore, I started my data collection in schools, conducting observation and interviews, with the aim of finding out elements that would reveal how participants' use of French rap as a pedagogical tool could be encompassed within the existing HHBE framework. At this point of the research, my scope was beyond mere French rap music as I was willing to focus on all Hip-Hop-culture-related practices – including graffiti, breakdancing, or the overall cultural and political aspects of Hip Hop for example.

Only during my first visits to schools in June 2019, following my first observations and interviews, that I realised such a HHBE-literature- and US-centred approach was not appropriate enough to the context I was investigating. Indeed, I started this research being highly influenced by the existing research on HHBE in the US context. I was thus trying to understand the French context in light of this framework. My biggest mistake here was to build assumptions upon the US-centred literature and take for granted that these applied to the context of my study, without first taking proper account of that specific context. Among those biased assumptions, the leading ones were as follow:

(1) In Seine-Saint-Denis REP and REP+ schools, there is an inherent relation between Hip Hop culture and the school's surrounding environment, or between Hip Hop culture and those schools' students.

(2) Participants' use of French rap as a pedagogical tool draws on this presumed relation.

(3) Participants' use of French rap as a pedagogical tool draws on contextual societal difficulties and potentially aims at encouraging/triggering positive social change.

Confronting these assumptions to the reality of my research context during my 2019 fieldwork revealed me some fundamental issues. First, although French rap is one of the most popular musical genres – if not the most popular one – in France, Hip Hop culture appears to belong to the past. Indeed, all participants had only very little to no concern at all about Hip Hop culture. Unlike in the HHBE literature, rap music in France is mostly dealt with independently from the Hip Hop culture it originates from. Secondly, while the societal context I focus on in my research is comparable to the one of HHBE-literature, it remains fundamentally different in many points. For example, the typical American racial focus cannot be applied. I also had no evidence that the students of participants' schools had a more inherent connection to French rap culture than any other students in the country. A potential relation between this specific context of schooling and the use of French rap was not something I could take for granted and it remained to be proved. Therefore, before even dealing with potential social justice implications for Seine-Saint-Denis REP and REP+ schools' students, I need to determine what the relations, if any, between participants' use of French rap as a pedagogical tool and this specific context of schooling are.

This marked a shift in the scope and focus of my research, now fully rooted in participants' perspectives instead of existing literature. Such a consideration of subjective experiences for the research falls within phenomenographic research approach that focuses on individuals' conceptions and perspectives rooted in their very own experiences. Bruce et al. describe phenomenography as "an interpretive research approach that seeks to describe phenomena in the world as others see them" (2004, p. 145). This overall approach would allow me to take account of contextual factors having an impact on the focus of my research without being influenced by existing theories or forcing my data to match inadequate frameworks. In other words, my data analysis should be rooted in the data itself rather than in literature. This specific approach corresponds to notable principles of the Grounded Theory qualitative method for data collection and analysis. Grounded Theory consists of generating new abstract theories as a result of systematic analysis of raw data (Denscombe, 2010). Although it demonstrates some phenomenographic leanings, as previously explained, this research predominantly commits to the data collection and analysis methods of the Constructivist Grounded Theory qualitative tradition that are further explained in the next section.

Taking into consideration this shift in my research process, I thus decided to realise a second fieldwork in March and April 2020 with a revised approach to observation and interviews. Interviews were hereafter realised in compliance with Bruce's three rules to certify the validity of the data:

> - The interviewer needs to put aside his or her own experience of the phenomenon, and focus on the views or experience of the interviewee. This is known as the epoche, or bracketing, 'a suspension of judgement' has been suggested as a 'nice', simile. The significance of this comes from the notion that we are trying to uncover the essential relations between the interviewee and the 'object', which we cannot presuppose to be already known.
> - The interviewee must be encouraged to describe his or her understanding of the phenomenon, through examples, descriptions of previous experience etc.
> - The interviewer needs to abide by the rule of horizontalization, that is, he or she needs to treat all possible pictures supplied by the interviewee as being of equal value. (1994, p. 54)

Interview questions would now be based on the recurrent themes, topics, and issues emerging from previous observations and interviews. Questions relating to concepts from existing literature were mostly discarded, unless in line with participants' given claims. For example, I would focus on French rap and no longer deal with Hip Hop culture in interviews, unless we previously discussed Hip Hop culture along the interview or during previous informal conversations. I typically tried to make up questions according to participants' claims in order to dig in their perspectives on given issues and personal experiences. However, such an effort on my part was usually not necessary as most participants would organically provide real life examples for any of their statements. Moreover, while during my first fieldwork I thought I would focus on key concerns relating to those found in the literature, after this shift any topic and issue depicted by participants was considered a potential element contributing to the data analysis. The sorting of the concerns that would eventually be part of the final product of the data analysis, the emerging theory, was realised through the comparison of all the pieces of data with one another, not of data with existing concepts and theories from literature.

2.2. Research purpose, approach, and research question

The amended purpose of my research was thus to draw a theory to help understand the relationship, if any, between the use of French rap in the classroom and the context of schooling in different Seine-Saint-Denis REP and REP+ middle schools. The objective through building a theory based upon observations and participants' depiction of their experience is to avoid the

confirmation bias I previously encountered. Instead of identifying elements that would confirm an existing framework, I am now looking to analyse empirical facts, study their relationships, and ultimately consider them through a more abstract analytic lens. The theorisation here does not consist of drawing generalities from the specific, but rather of a shift from the concrete to the abstract. Specific elements identified throughout the research process are ultimately brought in connection with existing broader concepts. This process allows to reveal the academic themes, fields, and discussions my study cases can be encompassed within.

The different arguments present in the previous paragraph demonstrate that the choice of Grounded Theory as a methodological approach to this research is made after a consideration of the circumstances of the research and its amended purpose. In this sense, Birks and Mills recommend adopting Grounded Theory in the case that:

- Little is known about the area of study.
- The generation of theory with explanatory power is a desired outcome.
- An inherent process is imbedded in the research situation that is likely to be explicated by grounded theory methods. (2015, p.17)

In fact, the choice of Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology for this thesis depends on this particular shift in my research scope and focus, and the impact it has on the overall approach to data collection and analysis. While the lack of literature about the use of French rap in French disadvantaged schools triggered my desire to generate a theory to understand it, the previously depicted acknowledgement of my biases and consequential shift in my research process pushed me to build this theory in light of participants' perspective instead of conducting a data analysis solely fitting the USA-based framework for HHBE.

The research question for this research is defined following the same logic. As Birks and Mills claim it:

> "In most studies, the research question directs how the study proceeds. In grounded theory, it is the research process that generates the question." (2015, p. 21)

My research question thus builds upon the whole research process, including the shift in focus and scope, the raw data, and its analysis (detailed in the following sections):

Research question: How to theorise the understanding of Seine-Saint-Denis REP and REP+ middle school teachers of their use of French rap in the classroom in relation to the context of schooling?

For the purpose of this research I adopt a Constructivist Grounded Theory qualitative tradition. As explained in the previous sections, the purpose of this research is not to apply my study case in order to verify existing concepts and theories, but to theorise the potential relationships between the use of French rap and the context of REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis. In the following sections, I first highlight the key points of Constructivist Grounded Theory before explaining how this methodology shapes my research process.

2.2.1. Constructivist Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory (GT) is now common among social scientists as it proved to be convenient for small-scale research and for exploring qualitative data rooted in particular settings (Denscombe, 2010, p.106). It was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in the late 60's in reaction to the dominance of "grand theories" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p.18; Thornberg, 2012, p.2-3). In opposition to other qualitative traditions, the innovative purpose of GT is to generate new theories instead of verifying existing ones (Thornberg, 2012; Denscombe, 2010). In practice, the generated theory emerges from the empirical material used by the researcher (Denscombe, 2010, p.107). In other words, abstract theories must be grounded in concrete raw data, hence the title Grounded Theory. Consequently, GT is inherently related to theoretical pragmatism, in the sense that "the theory is shaped by the facts, and therefore there should be a good fit" (Denscombe, 2010, p118) between generated theory and empirical evidence – data. In this sense, the quality of a GT can be judged on the basis of its practicality or how well it responds to real-life challenges (Denscombe, 2010, p.119).

Although GT evolved to different variations – which I partially detail in the following paragraph – there is a set of common characteristics proper to the that method. The probably most notable particularity of GT is the early and simultaneous start of both data collection and analysis, that should necessarily occur both at the same time (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Thornberg, 2012; Denscombe, 2010; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). Other common characteristics of GT are theoretical sampling, theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation, and constant comparison. (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p.12). All these processes are detailed throughout this paper with explanation of how I apply them to this research.

Grounded Theory originally leant towards a positivist paradigm (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014), implying the research should adopt a neutral position and inductively discover meanings and concepts from the data (Denscombe, 2010, p.119). A simple, yet exaggerated, way to understand induction in GT is suggesting that the data convey obvious meanings and concepts, and so different GT researchers interpreting the same data should ultimately generate the exact same theory. However, since Glaser's and Strauss's original GT (1967), the method has been appropriated and adapted to other paradigms by different authors. For the purpose of this research I choose to commit to Charmaz's Constructivist Grounded Theory (2000) and Thornberg's Informed Grounded Theory (2012) – noting that Thornberg's Informed Grounded Theory (IGT) does not constitute a new version of the method, but only add extra features to Charmaz's Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT).

Charmaz's (2000) approach is defined by a shift in paradigm in favour of constructivism with a rejection of GT's original positivism and its objective epistemology (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006b; Thornberg, 2012). Constructivism is a paradigm rooted in relativist ontology, meaning that realities are multiple and socially constructed according to specific effects of context, and epistemological subjectivism, implying that meanings and interpretation – of data in that case – are constructions proper to one individual's perspectives that are influenced by socio-cultural contexts (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006b, p.26). Thus, CGT assumes that "neither data nor theories are discovered, but are constructed by the researcher as a result of his or her interactions with the field and its participants" (Thornberg, 2012, p.7–8). The subjective epistemology of CGT particularly accords with the phenomenographic leanings of my approach to this research, phenomenography being also rooted in subjectivism (Bruce, 1994).

2.2.2. Constructivist Grounded Theory in this research

As previously explained, the choice of GT for this research is due to the lack of existing theories concerning the use of French rap in the classroom in France. As previously mentioned, the American theories of HHBE are not necessarily compatible with the French context (rap and schooling in France). Moreover, after my first attempt of fieldwork data collection, changes in my focus and scope of research pushed me to adopt an approach centred on the raw data – teachers' depiction of their personal experience – instead of existing theoretical concepts.
My emerging theory must be grounded in the reality of the experience of my participants and my personal observations – in accordance with the leading principles of phenomenography

(Bruce, 1994) – hence the more specific choice of committing to the tradition of CGT for this research. It must eventually fall within, or being brought to comparison to existing academic concepts and discussions, but in no case built upon those in the first place. For this reason, the review of literature is delayed and based on the data analysis – the opposite of most other qualitative traditions which traditionally feature a literature review prior data analysis. Similarly, the theoretical framework of this research is not primarily defined, however theoretical underpinnings are deduced out of a review of the data analysis and its subsequent literature review in order to position the emerging theory within academic fields and disciplines.

3. CO-CONSTRUCTION OF THE DATA

The first and foremost thing to mention when it comes to data in GT is that data collection and analysis should both occur at the same time (Denscombe, 2010; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). This chapter is dedicated to the description of the data and the data collection process, data analysis is thoroughly depicted in the next chapter. From this point, I first explain what kind of data can be used and the strategies to select it (theoretical sampling) and define the end of data collection (theoretical saturation). The next section offers a holistic description of the data used in this research as well as explanation of how theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation are applied. The last section of this chapter consists of further clarification on the nature of the relationship between research and participants and how this impacts on the data.

3.1. The nature of data in Constructivist Grounded Theory and data selection

One advantage of Grounded Theory, and especially Constructivist Grounded Theory, is that the range of data the researcher can possibly use is wide and diverse. Methods such as field observations, informal discussions, interviews or various document analysis, among many others, can be legitimate sources of data generation for CGT (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.4). In a more practical sense, in terms of interviews, due to its flexible nature and the fact that theories are generated rather than tested, the CGT approach favours unstructured interviews that leave the path open to participants to explore different issues (Denscombe, 2010, p.111). Even creative, unusual, unexpected, informal or "non-technical" sources of data can be included (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006, p.29). In fact, the only requirement for any type of data to be used is its relevance (Denscombe, 2010).

However, how does one make sure the data is truly relevant though? Conveniently enough, GT embeds a specific strategy that helps the research define the relevance of the next data: theoretical sampling.

3.1.1. Theoretical sampling: a data selection strategy

Theoretical sampling is one of the core strategies used by grounded theorists in order to choose which data will be next collected. That strategy differentiates GT from other qualitative traditions (Denscombe, 2010). Theoretical sampling consists of purposefully and reflexively selecting the next data to be collected according to criteria of relevance that are developed and defined by the researcher through the analysis (or coding) of previous data (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2012; Denscombe, 2010; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Theoretical sampling allows to verify and examine data interpretation – or emerging concepts – under various conditions, using a comparative analysis approach. As Corbin and Strauss put it: "[in] theoretical sampling the researcher is not sampling persons but concepts" (2008, p.144, as cited in Denscombe, 2010, p.113).

According to Strauss and Corbin, theoretical sampling is "cumulative", "involves a depth in focus", "follows a rationale" (1990; as cited in Denscombe, 2010, p.113) and should remain flexible to a certain extent. In other words, while each new piece of data should be constructed upon the previous one (cumulative), the scope of focus and level of abstraction should narrow down as the data collection goes on (depth in focus). Next data should be selected for its contribution to newly emerging concepts (rationale). Finally, flexibility means that these constraints may become conditional so that they will still allow the researcher to take advantage of unexpected opportunities to generate new concepts (Denscombe, 2010). Thus, unlike other sampling methods, theoretical sampling should start with the very first instance of data collection and last all the way throughout the process, not ahead of it (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014).

One challenge grounded theorists necessarily face though is that one cannot predict when the data collection should be over nor how much data one will end up with (Denscombe, 2010, p.113;117). Luckily enough, GT embeds another strategic tool designed to help the researcher define when their amount and range of data are sufficient: theoretical saturation.

3.1.2. Theoretical saturation

Theoretical saturation is another strategy proper to grounded theory. It can be understood as a point which is reached by researcher when collecting additional data "no longer contributes to discovering anything new about a category" (Strauss 1987, p.21 as cited in Denscombe, 2010, p.117).

In order to identify the point of theoretical saturation, Thornberg's and Charmaz's provide CGT researchers with the following questions:

(1) "Are there any gaps in the GT or in its categories?"
(2) "Are there any vague or underdeveloped definitions?"
(3) "Are we missing some data?"
(4) "Are the findings coherent?" (2014, p.18)

In practice, one can tell the point of theoretical saturation has yet been reached when further data is collected, and the analysis of that extra data only confirms the existing emerging abstract concepts constructed by the researcher without emerging new ones (Denscombe, 2010, p.117). Though, theoretical saturation is only hypothetical since grounded theories are never definite nor absolute and do not aim at depicting reality in a holistic manner, in fact, they rather provide a fertile ground for further inquiry (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.18). Thus, one could state that theoretical saturation is somewhat of an arbitrary strategy, though I prefer to interpret it as a process that helps establish the limits of the scope, focus and abstraction of one specific work of research.

3.2. Description of the research data

For the purpose of this research, I take advantage of the diversity of data that CGT offers. Indeed, my data includes semi-structured interviews of 8 teachers from one REP and two REP+ middle schools in Seine-Saint-Denis, reviews of seven of Issaba's songs, field observation and reviews of official governmental documents.

Issaba is the first interviewee and the only from his school, the first one of the two REP+ middle schools I visited. Six teachers were interviewed in the second REP+ school, including four French teachers, one History and Geography teacher – also in charge of Moral and Civic Education – and one English teacher. The last interview was conducted in another school, labelled REP, with a French teacher.

Participants are rendered anonymous in this paper through the use of pseudonyms. An exception is made for Issaba due to his significant public notoriety. Information allowing the identification of participants, such as the name of their school or the name local cities they quote, have been intentionally modified. Similarly, one participant mentions a famous rapper and the fact that this rapper attended the school he currently works at. To avoid the identification of the school, this rapper's name has been changed. The excerpt of the interview transcript including the mention to this rappers also feature: "[music-related visual product]". Revealing

the exact type of visual product the participant refers to may provide clues to identify the given rapper, and so the participant's school and identity.

Here is a list of participants with relevant information, including their socio-cultural status and/or environment of origin and the type of school they attended as children, solely according to their own depiction of it – no assumption nor interpretation is realised on this point:

- June 2019 fieldwork interviews:
    - Issaba is a mathematics teacher in a REP+ school. He is also a rapper who released one album although he never intended to make an actual career in the musical industry. In some of his songs as well as in his interview, Issaba mentions that he was born in Morocco and moved to Seine-Saint-Denis when he was five years old. He grew up in a similar socio-spatial environment to the one surrounding his school.
    - Camille teaches French language and literature in REP+ school and grew up in a similar socio-spatial environment to that of her students. She recently started to teach and only experienced teaching in REP schools.
    - Joséphine is an English teacher in REP+ school 2. She explains she comes from the same type of environment as her students and also studied in REP schools. She only formally worked as a teacher in REP schools but also developed some experience in one of France most prestigious high schools during an internship. Joséphine uses of rap music in the classroom consists of dealing with Hip Hop culture and US rap artist and making her students write lyrics in English and rap them in class. Although this research focuses on French rap only, Joséphine's case remains interesting since she explains that she bases her practice on students' interest in French rap and then relates this interest to her class using US rap and Hip Hop culture as a bridge.
    - Guillaume is a History and Geography teacher in REP+ school 2, he is also in charge of the Moral and Civic Education course. He comes from a socio-cultural environment that he describes as vastly different from the one of his students, describing it as rural, from Southern France, and noticeable by his accent. He chose himself to teach in REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis.
- March and April 2020 fieldwork interviews:
    - Inès is a French language and literature teacher in REP+ school 2. While all other participants are in their late-twenties or early-thirties, Inès is significantly older as she mentions she is close enough to retirement. Concerning her socio-cultural identity, Inès only mentions that she comes from a different environment from her school's students and that she grew up in a typically French milieu – focusing on the French language. She also has a wide experience of teaching in various public-school settings and socio-cultural contexts.
    - Lucas teaches French language and literature in REP+ school 2, he also used to teach English in a different school. He grew up in a comparable environment to the one of students. However, according to his claims, unlike the majority of people from his socio-spatial environment he studied in schools that are "reserved for the elite". Although Lucas listens to French rap, and demonstrates a greater knowledge of Hip Hop culture than most participants, he is the only participant who does not make use of the genre as a pedagogical tool.

- Suzanne is a French language and literature teacher in REP+ school 2. She presents herself as coming from a very privileged socio-cultural environment. Before teaching, she used to be a journalist overseas. She considers teaching as a way to redistribute her privileges.
- Yasmine is a French language and literature teacher in REP school 1. She described her socio-cultural identity as very different from that of her students. She also emphasises on the fact that she has been politically engaged since relatively young. She used to work in the cinema industry before becoming a teacher. She sees these two occupations as related as she can see in both of them opportunities to promote positive social changes. Yasmine started a French rap-based workshop with volunteering students when I visited her school.

The seven songs by Issaba featured in the data correspond to the first seven "lessons" he published on Youtube under the name Great Teacher Issaba. All those songs notably aim at his pupils deal with curricular mathematical notions seen in the classroom:

- *Great Teacher Issaba – (GTI (leçon 0)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2017)
- *Great Teacher Issaba – Théorème de Pythagore (leçon 01)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2018)
- *Great Teacher Issaba – Statistiques (leçon 02: Remix Kery James)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2018a)
- *Great Teacher Issaba – Théorème de Thalès (leçon 03: Remix Rohff)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2018b)
- *Great Teacher Issaba – Probabilités (leçon 04: Remix Jul)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2018c)
- *Great Teacher Issaba – Rapématiques (leçon 05: Remix 113)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2018d)
- *Great Teacher Issaba – Le Cercle (leçon 06: Remix Soprano)* (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, 2018e)

The official documents featured in the data include a report by the National Assembly, a decree, France National Education Code, a law bills and a webpage from the information portal for National Education staff:

- *Rapport d'information déposé en application de l'article 146-3, alinéa 6, du Règlement par le comité d'évaluation et de contrôle des politiques publiques sur l'évaluation de l'action de l'État dans l'exercice de ses missions régaliennes en Seine-Saint-Denis* (Assemblée Nationale, 2018)
- *Socle commun de connaissances, de compétences et de culture* (Journal officiel, 2015)
- *Code de l'éducation* (Legifrance, 2020)
- *Loi no 2005-158 du 23 février 2005 portant reconnaissance de la Nation et contribution nationale en faveur des Français rapatriés (France)* (Journal officiel, 2005)
- Web page *Les valeurs républicaines à l'École* from the information portal for National Education staff (Éduscol, 2020)
- Web page *Glossaire – Éducation prioritaire* (Réseaux Canopé, 2020)
- Web page *L'éducation prioritaire* (Ministère de l'Education Nationale de la Jeunesse et des Sports

The field observation data contains field notes and pictures taken during the immersion within the visited schools, including class observation. Additionally, I participated in the first session of a French rap-based workshop organised by Yasmine. The workshop is a student initiative and student-led. At the time of the study, Yasmine just started the workshop and did not know yet what would be the actual purpose of it, nor its outcomes. She simply assumed it would act as a space for students to freely express themselves in French-rap-related activities and share their passion for the genre. After the first session, she realised that students were interested in writing a rap song and ideally make a video-clip, she thus considered relating it to her French course and take advantage of the opportunity to teach the workshop attendees about the Hip Hop and rap culture.

3.2.1. Theoretical sampling in this research

In this research, each step of my data collection unpredictably led to the next one. In fact, the data collection started before I could even realise it with personal analysis of Issaba's songs. As I developed various interrogations regarding the potentiality of using these songs as a pedagogical tool, I reached out to Issaba who agreed to participate to my research. He would share his school information so that I could contact the school director who authorized me to conduct my research inside of the school. My first encounter with Issaba took place in his school, across informal conversations, I learnt more about the school itself, local neighbourhoods, and his personal relationship with French rap. For the next days, I would visit Issaba's school daily and attend some of his classes. From this point, I already took enough notes out of my observations to start drawing emerging concepts that constituted the first instances of my data analysis.

The gathering of the next data occurred as a snowball effect. Issaba and other teachers from his school told me about other middle school teachers in Seine-Saint-Denis they knew used French rap in the classroom. I could eventually get in contact with those teachers, which led me to visit a second REP+ and a REP middle school. Just like with the previous one, I would visit the school daily, share teachers' breaks and enjoy the opportunity to socialise with them and tell them about my research. Once familiar enough with my topic of research, participants would typically guide me towards other of their colleagues that also used French rap as a pedagogical tool. I realised that a considerable number of teachers in Seine-Saint-Denis middle schools featured French rap in the classroom, I thus had to delineate my scope of data. From

my first instance of data collection and throughout my observations and interviews, more concepts would emerge from the data analysis and its scope progressively narrowed, allowing me to carefully select the next interviewees accordingly. The content of interviews also evolved along with and according to the data analysis. New specific questions emerged directly from previous instances, others were discarded, and selected themes would be treated with further depth. However, the interview process would still be mostly guided by the interviewee's claims due to my commitment to draw my final theory from the subjectivity of their experiences.

One of the main criteria for selecting my interviewee was obviously that participants should use French rap in their classes. However, one participant, Lucas, does not make any use of French rap as a pedagogical tool. I nevertheless asked Lucas for an interview following a short debate we had with several teachers during a lunch break in the staff room. The use of French rap as a pedagogical tool was the focus of the debate and Lucas argued that he would not feature French rap in his French classes, although he does listen to "old-school" French rap. Also, Lucas did not position strictly against the use of French rap in the classroom, he only argued for his own case and admitted he believed other teachers do it in a relevant manner. He brought up arguments relating to the legitimacy of French rap among French literary traditions, the general purposes of schooling and teaching French language and literature, and students' relation to French rap and school. Those arguments were in line with the concepts emerging from my data analysis, as most participants had already been interviewed by that time. Indeed, at this point of the research I realised that the use of French rap in class was surrounded by several significant contextual elements – aims and experiences of schooling, students' out-of-school life, and the perception of French rap as a cultural product, among others. During the debate, Lucas demonstrated a significant consideration of these elements and knowledge of French rap, which thus motivated his selection for interview. The presence of Lucas as an interviewee, although he does not use French rap in the classroom, demonstrates the flexibility I applied to my theoretical sampling according to Denscombe's terms (2010).

3.2.2. Theoretical saturation in this research

The point of theoretical saturation in this research was consciously reached before data collection ended. By the time I conducted my two last interviews, respectively of Suzanne and Yasmine, all concepts (initial codes, categories and core categories – described through the next

sections) already emerged from my data analysis and I could start drawing a first version of my grounded theory. Those final interviews, and extra observations, only contributed to the existing concepts of my grounded theory without creating new ones. Thornberg and Charmaz's questions to help researchers identify the point of theoretical saturation could all be positively answered since (4) preliminary findings were consistent with the new data for it fit the emerging theory. Moreover, (1) those final instances of data collection did not reveal any gap in the emerging theory, (2) nor did they require changes in the given definitions of the elements composing the grounded theory. Although (3) no data misses to support the emerging theory, the end of data collection was rushed by Covid-19 restrictions and the upcoming closing of schools.

3.3. Co-construction of the data in CGT

3.3.1. Researcher and participants' relationship

The nature of the relationship between researcher and participants is fundamental in CGT. In compliance with the constructivist paradigm CGT commits to, data is "co-constructed" by interactions between the researcher and participants and their meanings are inherently shaped by the researcher's perspectives (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.3). According to the principle of pragmatism, emergent theories must be "grounded in the participants' and researcher's experiences" (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006, p.9). Consequently, CGT sees no hierarchical relationship between the research and participants who should partner all together for generating data and their meanings (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006b). This is rendered possible by the researcher's commitment to reveal their personality, values, socio-cultural background and understanding of depicted issues throughout interactions and their willingness to share personal details with participants on an equal balance (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006, p.10). A simple way to put it is Oakley's principle of 'no intimacy without reciprocity' (1981; as cited in Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006, p.10). In my case, this approach was reinforced by my phenomenographic propensity, translating into a commitment to root the final product of the research in participants' subjective experiences.

3.3.2. Co-construction of the data in this research

In order to properly grasp teachers' experience, not only did I visit the schools but also, I tried to truly immerse myself within their realities – exception made for the REP school due to time constraints. I would thus go to the school every day with a schedule comparable to the typical one of teachers, share their breaks in the staff room and develop informal social relationships with teachers. On my first days, some staff even believed I was a new teacher. For the time of my stay, I tried to understand the running of the school as much as possible by meeting the staff and talking to them, may they be teachers, school counsellors, head teachers, or janitor.

Creating a certain level of humane proximity before conducting interviews remained of primarily importance to me as I wanted participants to not only consider me as a researcher here to solely complete his job. This was facilitated by participants' and my common passion for French rap and education. I explained participants beforehand that the purpose of the interviews was to let them express their perception on specific themes and issue. Those were necessarily dealt with beforehand during informal conversations and I would openly share my opinion on them and tell participants about my personal experiences. For the sake of transparency I also constantly shared my research findings with participants. Only once a certain level of relationship was established, that I judged I knew participants well enough, and believed they were ready to honestly answer my questions, then I could finally start conducting an interview. Interviews started with a disclaimer explaining participants they would be anonymised in the research and that they are free to speak as they wish, answer or not to my questions, and critique them. The tone of the interviews was rather informal as I tried to make the experience feel more like organic conversations. Overall, participants' answers to the interview questions are the result of our past interactions, hence their potential references to past debates and discussions we had during previous encounters.

Similarly, course observations would be conducted after discussing with teachers which class would be the most relevant to attend. For example, Guillaume and Issaba would tell me in advance when they planned to use French rap in their class. Although I suggested class observations, the ones that took place were necessarily at the initiative of teachers who invited me to join specific classes with beliefs they would be relevant to the research.

The data collection occurring in Yasmine's REP school was slightly different nevertheless as I only visited the school twice. Although I shared some of teachers' breaks and had the opportunity to talk with some, I did not spend enough time there to properly draw a relationship

with the staff like in the other schools. I met Yasmine thanks to Guillaume who used to teach in her school gave me her contact. We first met in a café and discussed about the same topics we would in the interview. She invited me two times to visit her school: a first time to show me around and talk about the French rap-related workshop she planned, the second time for attending the workshop and conduct her interview. By the time of the interview, I had reached the same level of proximity with Yasmine as with other teachers.

The nature of the relationships between the researcher and participants and the approaches to interviews described through the previous paragraphs are essential to the co-construction of data. Indeed, most of the data emerges directly from participants' perspectives and the result of interactions with the researcher. The data analysis, which occurs along with data co-construction, is thus influenced by those interactions too.

Now that the data and its collection process have been described, the next chapter presents the data analysis phase, or theorising process.

4. THEORISING PROCESS

The following sections provide more details about each of the CGT data analysis processes and in-depth explanations of how they are applied in this research. As mentioned before, an essential feature of Grounded Theory is the fact that data collection/generation and data analysis – or theorising process, also referred to as coding – are realised conjointly (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). Coding is split in several progressive step, going from the more concrete, empirical data, towards higher levels of abstraction (Denscombe, 2010; Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006). In practice, grounded theorists progressively generate initial codes, categories, and finally theoretical codes (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). GT embeds several strategies to facilitate and legitimize that theorising process, namely: constant comparison, the principle of abductive reasoning and up-scaling theory. While the next section provides definitions of constant comparison and abduction in CGT, the ways in which these two processes apply to this research are described throughout the description of the data analysis process. The second section describes the processes of data analysis in CGT and details how they are applied in this research, along with a depiction of all codes generated (initial codes, categories, and core categories). While this second section corresponds to the first steps of the theorising process, the third section of this chapter represents the reach of a further level of abstraction – or theorisation – as generated codes are studied in light of their relationships in order to draw a first emerging theory. The fourth and last section of this chapter finally introduces the initial emerging theory.

4.1. Data analysis strategies

4.1.1. Constant comparison

The logic and practice of constant comparison is the corner stone of GT. Once again, that strategy occurs at every level of the research process. (Denscombe, 2010). In practice, the research systematically compares and contrasts data, initial codes, categories and concepts with one another in order to refine them (Denscombe, 2010, p.116). Constant comparison allows the researcher to verify the constructed abstract elements – may they be initial codes, categories or concepts – that will eventually generate the new grounded theory. The main target of this approach is to ensure the emerging theory remains in line with the empirical facts it originates

from, thus in line with pragmatism (Denscombe, 2010). In other words, this process ensures that grounded theories are indeed grounded in the data (Denscombe, 2010).

4.1.2. Abduction

Constructivist grounded theorists argue against the pure inductive approach of traditional GT (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). The main issue constructivist grounded theorists reproach to the use of induction in GT "is that this type of reasoning involves a leap from the particular to the general, and may rely on too limited a number of individual cases or an idiosyncratic selection" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p.15). Instead, the use of abduction is recommended and considered an inherent component of CGT (Thornberg, 2012). Abduction consists of conducting data analysis by forming several "candidate" hypotheses to interpret empirical facts and eventually selecting the best, most probable, "candidate" (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.2). Though, one needs to bear in mind the relativist ontology assigned to CGT to understand that "the adoption of the hypothesis is not as being true or verified or confirmed, but as being a worthy candidate for further investigation" (Douven, 2011b, as cited in Thornberg, 2012, p.6). Overall, abduction is a reasoning process, situated in-between induction and deduction, that requires creativity from the researcher, for its purpose is to facilitate the discovering of emerging abstract concepts (Pierce, 1958, as cited in Thornberg, 2012, p.6).

4.2. Processes of data analysis

This sections describes the different levels of coding – or process of theorisation – in CGT as well as explanations of how these are used in this research. Each description of a given coding process is followed by a sub-section presenting all the codes generated through the application of this process. Overall, this data analysis process consists of a phase of initial coding rendering 24 initial codes (I.C.*n*.), and a phase of focused coding divided in two parts. While the former part highlights the main concepts emerging from the gathering of comparable initial codes through the creation of 9 categories (Ct.*n*.), the latter part consists of 4 core categories (C.Ct.*n*.) building upon abstract concepts revealing through the relationships between given categories. Two documents are provided in the appendices in order to facilitate the reader's comprehension

of the theorising phase: a list of codes containing the full title for each code (see Appendix 1.), and a table summarising all codes and how they are encompassed within each other according to their level of coding (see Appendix 2.).

4.2.1. Initial coding in Constructivist Grounded Theory

Initial coding gives meaning to the data. In practice it consists of identifying recurrent and common issues within raw data, considering the relation between several pieces of data, and gathering them together under a more abstract initial code (Denscombe, 2010; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006). At that stage, data is systematically compared with data, following the GT's typical principle of constant comparison (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). In order to generate initial codes, taking the example of coding transcripts of interviews, the researcher tries to identify within the raw data emerging focuses, issues, specific situations, concerns, assumptions as well as any other relevant element taken from participants' arguments (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.5–6). During initial coding, data should be analysed "word by word, line by line, paragraph by paragraph, or incident by incident" (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.6). However, Glaser (1978) warns: "Every code the researcher generates has to fit the data (instead of forcing the data to fit the code), and hence should earn its way into the analysis" (as cited in Thornberg & Charmza, 2014, p.6). In short, initial coding is a first reflexive and comparative move from empirical facts – raw data – towards a higher level of abstraction.

My very first initial codes emerged from notes on Issaba's songs. Those first initial codes were revised along with the development of further ones during my first visits in schools in 2019, I will thus qualify them as 'pre-initial codes' until they no longer undertake any amend and appear as they feature in the final paper (in the next sub-section). At this point, after conducting a word-by-word analysis of interview transcripts, the number pre-initial codes amounted over 500. Following this first fieldwork, the significant shift in my research focus, scope and overall approach helped me revamp my pre-initial codes. Comparing all pre-initial codes with one another allowed me to notice similarities between dozens of them and gather them under broader clusters. Those clusters represented specific recurring matters encompassing various more specific issues, topics, or examples found in the data. This process led to

decreasing the amount of pre-initial codes to fewer than 50. The second fieldwork I realised in 2020 led to the ultimate amend and discard of existing pre-initial codes, and emergence of new ones. All the 24 final initial codes (I.C.*n*.) were formed before the end of the data collection. The remainder of the fieldwork observations and interviews – respectively of Suzanne and Yasmine – only tended to confirm the existing final initial codes without triggering any amend nor the emergence of new ones. The next sub-section provides a definition of every final initial code with illustrative examples drawn from the raw data – mostly interview transcripts. An extra table provides more quotes extracted from interview transcripts to provide further examples illustrating each initial code (see Appendix 3.).

4.2.2. Initial codes

I.C.1. Creating a universal French School culture:

This first initial code relates to a concept described by one participant when asked if distinctive cultural traits or habitus could be observed among youth dwelling in Seine-Saint-Denis disadvantage neighbourhood. Camille believes that all those having attended the French Republican School share a common culture that builds upon the knowledge taught at school:

> **Camille:** "We all study the same at school, I mean, there is a common curriculum, a nation-scale one, the graduation exam is national for instance. It means that at some point, we're all… Maybe the means to get to there are different, but I think at the end of it, of a school cycle, we've all got the same knowledge, roughly."

In fact, although this question was especially constructing on my former biased HHBE-centred perspective, Camille's answer finds its way to this stage of the data analysis, even after the final revision of initial codes, as her argument finds echo in other participants' claims. Indeed, participants typically see School as an institution spreading the same knowledge to all students in France. In practice, this can imply teaching students about different French cultures that may appear to be foreign to them and giving them opportunities to appropriate them:

This principle of School acting as an institution spreading a common knowledge and developing a shared culture is enacted in an official document that some participants referred to: the *Socle commun de connaissances, de compétences et de culture* (Journal officiel). This decree

defines the mission of School in terms of what knowledge, skills and culture students should learn to master during compulsory education.

> "The common framework of knowledge, skills and culture covers the period of compulsory education, namely ten fundamental years of children's life and education, from six to sixteen years old. It essentially corresponds to primary and middle school teaching which constitutes a common school culture. […] compulsory education pursues a double target of instruction and socialisation. It provides students with a common culture based upon indispensable knowledge and skills that will allow them to personally thrive, develop sociability, succeed in their future educational path, integrate themselves into the society they will live in and contribute, as citizens, to its evolution. The common framework must become a central reference, for the work of teachers and actors of the education system for it defines the ultimate purposes of compulsory schooling and requires School to fulfil its promise for all students." (Journal officiel, 2015, p. 2)

I.C.2. Commitment to the "Valeurs de la République":

As stated in the National Education Code, "besides the transmission of knowledge, the Nation sets the sharing of the Valeurs de la République to students as the first very first mission of School" (Legifrance, 2020). According to the official information portal for National Education staff (teachers, school personnel, school directors and inspectors) the "Valeurs de la République" (values of the French Republic) correspond to the French motto "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternity" (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity), secularism, and the rejection of all forms of discrimination (struggle against racism and antisemitism and promotion of gender equality) (Éduscol, 2020). Participants describe the intergenerational transmission and sustainment of those values as a part of their job, one of their leading missions being to train future citizens:

> Yasmine **:** "It's our job, that's what we're asked to do… to train citizens! We got the citizen training course in middle school, we have to train them as citizens."

Beyond their formal obligations, participants demonstrate a personal commitment to these Valeurs de la République, some even refer to France as 'the country of human rights' – which is a

common way for French people refer to the country. As a demonstration of this commitment, during an observation, I noticed that Yasmine appeared to be profoundly concerned and passionate while talking to one of her pupils about an act of homophobia he may have been responsible of. She clearly explained him how she applies a zero-tolerance policy towards that kind of discriminative behaviour and that he would face serious sanctions if he was found to be actually guilty of homophobic slur. Other participants also relate their commitment to the Valeurs de la République in the interviews:

> **Suzanne:** "It was during a school trip. […] Our students faced racism in the eye of the others. Then we had to work upon it… to not mix key notions all together, as racism isn't the same thing as antisemitism, as fascism, as discrimination… we need to put things back within their contexts. We need to open the debate, we need to replace racism in France within its social and historical context!"

Participants' commitment to defending the Valeurs de la République reflects in their rejection of slurs and discriminative representations they can find in some French rap songs. They explain that while they appreciate bringing French rap into the classroom, this practice only occurs if in accordance with the Valeurs de la République.

I.C.3. The REP School as a different school:

Participants having an experience of teaching or studying in non-REP schools describe teaching in REP schools as a different job from teaching in other schools. When asked if teaching in a REP school in Seine-Saint-Denis is a similar experience to teaching in non-REP schools, participants' answers typically resonate with Yasmine's opinion:

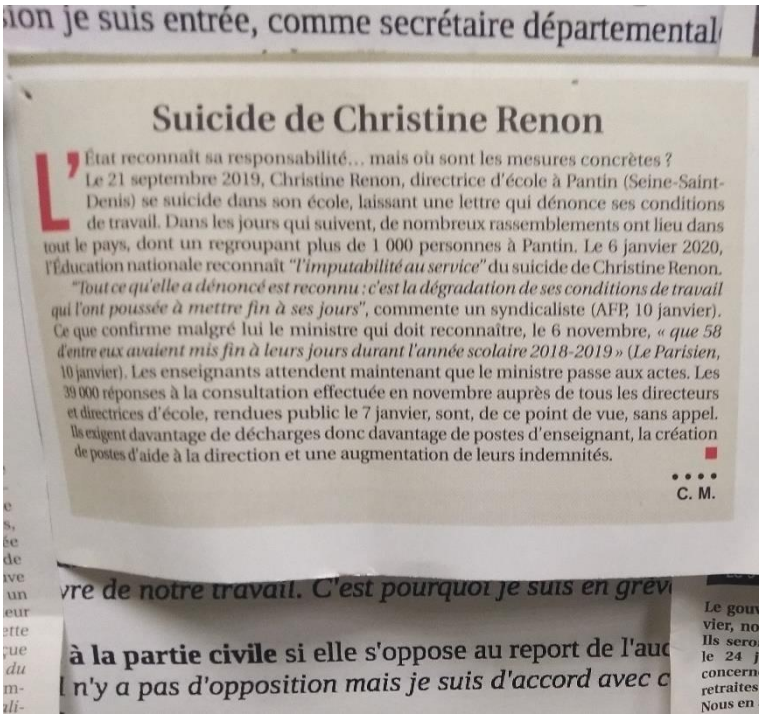
> **Yasmine:** "I draw on what I can see, what I hear about and what I know, because my parents are teachers too… in a totally different city, with totally different students. No! I think these are two completely different jobs! I think the substance is same… then teaching manners… the choices we make… yeah, they make it a completely different job. I think it really is a different job. I think when you are in an environment… an easier school… maybe you got more time to really focus on the subject you teach […] Then, I don't know. I haven't taught somewhere else, but I see! First [teachers from non-REP

schools] aren't as exhausted as we are, and we don't have the same means! When you got the means, it changes a lot of things!"

Despite the fact that REP schools are allocated with extra budget, participants describe a lack of means in their schools compared to non-REP schools. Throughout my observations, I could often hear teachers pointing out the school's lack of supplies. During a general assembly organised by teachers in the staff room for discussing the possibility to go on strike and organise protests, some teachers expressed their worries about further loss of means in REP schools and complained about their lack of basic facilities: "indecent toilets", "absence of soap during the Covid-19 pandemic", "it's raining inside of the gymnasium".

Suzanne: "Look at our school and go visit one in the 16th arrondissement [the 16th arrondissement of Paris being often referred to as a rich/bourgeois place]."

Several participants describe their job as emotionally difficult and potentially depressing. I could find an echo to those claims in the different extracts from newspapers and union magazines displayed on the staff room wall and dealing with hardship in REP teachers' and school directors' job such as lack of recognition and allegedly oppressive policies from political institutions towards teachers. Among those is a notable article relating the recognition by the French state of its responsibility in the suicide in her working place of a school director in Seine-Saint-Denis after she left a letter to denounce her working conditions (see Figure 2). The same article explains that a total of 58 schoolteachers and directors committed suicide in Seine-Saint-Denis due to their difficult working conditions during the school year 2018-2019. However, while participants highlight the hardship of their working conditions, they still claim to be happy with and proud of their job.



ion je suis entrée, comme secrétaire départemental

Suicide de Christine Renon

L'État reconnaît sa responsabilité… mais où sont les mesures concrètes ?
Le 21 septembre 2019, Christine Renon, directrice d'école à Pantin (Seine-Saint-Denis) se suicide dans son école, laissant une lettre qui dénonce ses conditions de travail. Dans les jours qui suivent, de nombreux rassemblements ont lieu dans tout le pays, dont un regroupant plus de 1 000 personnes à Pantin. Le 6 janvier 2020, l'Éducation nationale reconnaît *"l'imputabilité au service"* du suicide de Christine Renon.
"Tout ce qu'elle a dénoncé est reconnu : c'est la dégradation de ses conditions de travail qui l'ont poussée à mettre fin à ses jours", commente un syndicaliste (AFP, 10 janvier). Ce que confirme malgré lui le ministre qui doit reconnaître, le 6 novembre, *« que 58 d'entre eux avaient mis fin à leurs jours durant l'année scolaire 2018-2019 »* (*Le Parisien*, 10 janvier). Les enseignants attendent maintenant que le ministre passe aux actes. Les 39 000 réponses à la consultation effectuée en novembre auprès de tous les directeurs et directrices d'école, rendues public le 7 janvier, sont, de ce point de vue, sans appel. Ils exigent davantage de décharges donc davantage de postes d'enseignant, la création de postes d'aide à la direction et une augmentation de leurs indemnités.

C. M.

vre de notre travail. C'est pourquoi je suis en grev

à la partie civile si elle s'oppose au report de l'auc

n'y a pas d'opposition mais je suis d'accord avec c

Figure 2 *Suicide de Christine Renon [Suicide of Christine Renon] – Article from a teacher union magazine (unidentified) dealing with the suicide of teachers and school directors in Seine-Saint-Denis, displayed on a wall of the staff room among other articles in a REP+ middle school*

A particularity of REP and REP+ schools in Seine-Saint-Denis compared to other schools, according to participants, is the fact the student population is socially homogenous though culturally diverse. Participants see this social homogeneity as a complicating factor to school success:

> **Suzanne:** "Indeed, there is no social diversity here, I mean most of [the students] live in rather underprivileged social conditions."
>
> **Issaba:** "Then, you see, here is a REP+ school… There's slightly more diversity than before let's say. But… there isn't so much [social diversity] though, you know. It remains a very popular area, you know, I mean it's… [local disadvantaged neighbourhood] is basically seen very negatively! And [students] are almost all from [local disadvantaged neighbourhood], you know."
>
> "The means established by the priority education policy are thus offset by negative effects due to what sociologists call "peer effects": school-level and social diversity being less important in the given schools, students' level are brought down." (Assemblée Nationale, 2018, p. 15)

I.C.4. REP as a marginalising policy:

Participants describe the REP policies as marginalising for the schools and their students because of the different treatment REP schools receive from the state and the labelling effect of such a policy. An example of that marginalisation is the selective higher education institution Science Po's positive discrimination towards REP schools, reserving study places specifically for REP students. According to participants, this policy seems to lead to stigmas towards about REP schools that can explain some teachers' apprehension about coming to work in a REP school.

> **Suzanne:** "I mean marginalising [students]… In fact, School the way it is here is marginalised anyway. It's not even the students that are marginalised, it's the school itself, cités schools are marginalised! I mean… School, the way it is now, is only useful for people like me [in terms of social and cultural background]."

The marginalisation of REP schools is also addressed in the National Assembly report, specifying that the most privileged families domiciled within REP school catchment areas tend to enrol their children in other schools:

> "The priority education policy triggers stigmatising effects. The RAR [Réseaux Ambition et Réussite - Ambition and Success Networks] policy, the ancestor of REP+ networks which applied from 2006 to 2010, notably led to massive effects of bypassing the school map system. […] Those avoiding strategies, a practice by the most privileged families, resulted in a decrease of the average success of RAR middle schools ; the pupils who left also being the ones who demonstrated the best school achievement." (Assemblée Nationale, 2018, p. 15)

I.C.5. REP and non-REP schools: obvious inequalities:

School inequalities between REP and non-REP schools, especially in terms of students' academic achievement, appear to be obvious to participants. When asked if they could notice an

achievement gap between REP and non-REP schools, participants who have experience of teaching or studying in both answer:

> **Lucas:** "Oh yes! Considering the fact that I made part of my… I studied within the framework of… how to say… of an education that was reserved to the elite, I am thinking of [prestigious middle school] in [Parisian arrondissement]. […] In any case, I can observe here a lag, and the bottom floor in which they will unfortunately be maintained."

Some participants claim that lower achievement in REP middle schools is due to education lag that can be traced to primary school and, in some cases, the recruitment of contractual non-qualified teachers for REP primary schools.

> "There also exists a form of academic exclusion: the absence of teachers in front of students. Despite the positions created over the past five years, the continuity of teaching is not necessarily ensured in Seine-Saint-Denis, for a "mechanical" reason due to the inefficiency of the replacement feature for short-term absences. This phenomenon, denounced by parents' associations, is hard to quantify. Nevertheless, taking into account students' difficulties, the absence of teachers is more detrimental than elsewhere." (Assemblée Nationale, 2018, p. 18)

The school achievement disadvantage in REP schools is also claimed to be due to out-of-school factors. Participants depict unfavourable environment, compromising socio-economic situation, lack of possible parental support and students' lack of faith in school as main factors of school failure and dropout:

> **Yasmine:** "When you come out of school and that… you don't have… someone at home that's physically able to help you. I mean we got students whose parents work counter-clockwise shifts, they aren't here in the evening, cumulate several jobs. […] We've got many students whose parents don't speak French […] Or they simply have big families, they're a lot in the same apartment so they don't have any personal space, no computer, or no… I have students who go back home and clean, they're the ones cooking because unfortunately their mothers are cleaners and […] work when we sleep."

I.C.6. Need of pedagogical adaptation:

Participants emphasise on the fact that due to the local contextual difficulties – described in the previous initial code – pedagogical adaptations are needed in order to ensure students keep up with the school content and curricula:

> **Yasmine:** "Of course we have to adapt [to the local context]. In any case… our job is adaptation, we adapt to anything, we adapt to… material that works on a day not on the next one, we adapt to… students… we have violent students, we have students… angry students, dropouts, we have students that shouldn't be here! They have proper mental disabilities! Yeah! We constantly have to adapt, always, always we have to. If we don't… for me it's a matter of survive! And you can see it here, those who stay and those who leave, those who can't adapt they don't survive here!"

Teachers explain that pedagogical adaptations are rendered possible thanks to their full freedom of pedagogy. Although the guiding themes of their course is imposed through the *Common framework of knowledge, skills and culture* (Journal officiel, 2015), the choice of content remains fully free, which they say help them support students learning and critique curricula if they think it necessary.

I.C.7. Not lowering academic expectations:

Despite pedagogical adaptations, participants emphasise on the fact that they commit to the principle of not lowering their achievement expectations towards students:

> **Inès:** "I'm not especially against the established curricula, though I think… there is a lot of pedagogical work to do for these students to access the curricula. […] It's not so much about curricula, I think we shouldn't give up our level of expectation, for instance… but we need to adapt the paths."

I.C.8. Student-centred approach to teaching:

According to participant, adopting a student-centred approach – understood as considering and starting from students' knowledge, skills, cultures, and interests – is a necessity in their context of schooling:

> **Joséphine:** "I always try to start from their own culture […] I necessarily start from what they know to… to then go further. I feel like it's more fruitful if they can realise that what they primarily have can be a basic to learn other things. Never starting from a void, never starting from nothing."

Participants explain that applying a student-centred approach implies a significant grasp of students. As demonstrated in next initial codes (I.C.11.; I.C.13.; I.C.14.; I.C.15.; I.C.16.; I.C.17.), teachers are knowledgeable about their students' out-of-school environment. They highlight the fact that considering students' realities (socio-economic status, culture, academic level, interests, out-of-school life, and overall living conditions) is inherent to their job, especially when teaching in REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis.

I.C.9. Teachers and students' co-construction of the class: Bridging in- and out-of-school knowledge, skills, and cultures:

In order to increase students' interest and motivation, participants explain that they need to create bridges between school and out-of-school knowledge. Participants explain that they always start from what the students know for introducing the course content. For some participants, the purpose of this approach is to value students' personal knowledge and make sure students can relate to the content to ultimately be able to appropriate it:

> **Suzanne:** "It has to come from [the students]. I personally understood something, it's that… if you want your students interested in the course, you have to talk to them… and you have to make them talk […] I mean, lecture-like pedagogical approach aren't worth anything! A course must be co-constructed. If they can't appropriate the content you give them, they won't remember it."

In some cases, participants even appropriate students' cultural codes, such as language features, in order to facilitate their understanding of complex notions:

> **Suzanne:** "I mean, I sometimes 'translate' my courses, when I notice there's a notion expressed in a rather formal language or that is a bit complex, sometimes I put it back to their level. Doesn't mean I'm levelling it down though! All language levels are important! So you start from the first level, then you make them move on, that's a matter of comprehension."

Some participants describe how they go deeper in this approach by explicitly inviting students to bring their personal knowledge and experiences to the class, although specifying that students typically need incentives to do so. According to some teachers, students can hardly picture the compatibility of their own knowledge and school. Teachers' job in that case is to make students understand that their personal interests and experiences can be legitimate and relevant to school if they are used appropriately

Some participants admit that their knowledge and consideration of students' realities influence their choice of course content from a year to another:

> **Joséphine:** "I think it's super important to adapt, that openness is something I didn't have before and that I gained from [my students]. They tell me: "Ma'am, you should watch that!". Because they constantly talk about it, they enter the classroom with a manga in hand. So that opened me… and I'm thinking, why not integrating it to my teaching. Because that would motivate them more to deal with things they love. […] so that's why I'm watching all manga animes now and I'm thinking of potentially including it to my course next year."

I.C.10. Teaching beyond the content knowledge: the humane dimension of teaching in Seine-Saint-Denis REP schools:

Participants explain that they consider that the realm of their mission moves beyond the mere teaching of formal subjects' content knowledge. They especially emphasise on the humane and

relational aspect of their job which they say is due to the REP school context and students' reality:

> **Lucas :** "you need to understand that we [teachers in Seine-Saint-Denis REP schools] act humane here, first and foremost, let's be honest, we also work on discipline and order."

I.C.11. Socialisation lag:

Participants explain that their students are typically unfamiliar with the School's norms of socialisation and may even not understand the role of the institution. They further argue that this situation contributes to the hardship of their job as their first mission is thus to socialise students. Indeed, according to participants, teaching the course content knowledge becomes even more challenging without this prior socialisation:

> **Lucas:** "In the countryside, I don't know, I can't tell [whether this is comparable to teaching in a REP school in Seine-Saint-Denis], but for the rest, obviously not! I think there are teachers coming to some places, they say "Shhh!", and you get a total silence! […] What I mean is that our first mission here consists of… making students understand why we are here. In other places they already know it! They… you don't make the silence because silence is already there, you know… mayhem, the fact that it is bizarre to be in class it's… it's absolutely not… it's absolutely not something you would encounter [in non-REP schools], according to what I lived as a pupil."

A first instance of this socialisation issue is students' undisciplined behaviour that teachers need to deal with. While discipline issues occur in any school setting, participants argue that these remain a much greater challenge in REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis:

> "Ouais mec, ouais meuf, c'est là que j'enseigne/Montreuil, Saint-Denis, Ivry, Epinay-Sur-Seine / Des élèves en souffrance, élèves dissipés, des actes de violences et des guerres de cités / Mais la majorité finira diplômée" [Yeah, boy, yeah, girl, that's where I teach/Montreuil, Saint-Denis, Ivry, Epinay-Sur-Seine/ Suffering students, undisciplined pupils, acts of violence and inter-cités wars/But most of 'em will end up graduating]. (GTI Great Teacher Issaba, *Great Teacher Issaba – Rapématiques (Leçon 05 : Remix 113)*, 2018d)

Another example of this lack of socialisation according to the School's norms is the languages of students. While the share of allophone students [students having a mother tongue other than French] is more significant than in other school settings, an even greater share of students seems to use colloquial or vernacular varieties of French in daily life that are not privileged by School.

As mentioned before, students may not understand the role of School. Being more explicit on that issue, participants explain that students tend to have no faith in School to ensure an improvement of their socio-economic status. To another extent, some participants argue that students may believe the curriculum content is inherently not meant to them.

> **Joséphine:** "I think it's more about their relation to school. I think they have a relation to school that is… that is not necessarily… For them it's not necessary. There are many who think school is not necessary and: "We don't give a damn about school, it won't give us a job!". I think… the environment in which they evolve is not quite favourable to… I'm not talking for everybody here, but I still think their environment isn't favourable for school, and so for some of them making efforts is pointless since "school in useless"."

I.C.12. Teaching students to travel through society:

Participants claim that School must teach students formal codes for living in society. Besides being an instance of student socialisation – as understood as instilling them with School's social norms – it also represents a strategy for teachers to teach students to travel through socio-cultural spheres. They claim that the ability to code-switch is necessary for social mobility, ensuring that students are equipped with the right codes to ultimately evolve through all spheres of society. Participants most often refer to this concept through the example of the registers of language students use, although they also mention dress codes or overall attitude for instance.

> **Yasmine:** "[…] we do create citizens that in no time will find themselves facing the world's reality, and that world isn't easy. So, we must give them the [social] codes to survive too! And the social codes to survive, well, that's not coming to a job interview wearing sweat pants, that's stopping to say "wesh" ["wesh" is a common word in vernacular French, informal and that has multiple meanings and so can be used for various

purposes] all the time, that's humm… learning how to get over your anger and… and that's complicated, isn't it! […] We must give [students] the codes to survive [in society], and so at some point we must all have the same codes: saying hello, goodbye, shaking hands… not being late, taking off you cap inside… That's… the bases of a working society. And we have to give them those codes, because they need it, because that's how we can live all together!"

I.C.13. Multiculturality:

Teachers demonstrate a profound and comprehensive knowledge and consideration of the local environment surrounding the school, whether they come themselves from a similar environment or from a different one. They describe the cités in Seine-Saint-Denis as an environment that constructed upon post-colonial migration:

> **Guillaume:** "We studied with [my students] the album cover, [Azim's] [popular rapper who grew up in a nearby cité and attended this middle school] last [music-related visual product] where there are all flags, […] there are flags from all countries […] and in terms of migration it helps them understand: "So you see, there are people from all countries here, how did that happen? How can there be… so much diversity in the neighbourhood? And in Paris in general too?""

A consequence of such a setting that participants highlight is the significant multiculturality in cités and so in their schools:

> **Suzanne:** "We got things to take from them, from their cultural framework, from their grasp of the world, of life… and also form their experience of diversity! […] However, in their… knowledge of what cultural mix is, living with… I mean, here we got Indians, Pakistanis, Malagasies, Romanians, and all… you don't find this heterogeneity in… more privileged districts."

I.C.14. Local cultural codes:

Participants could identify specific cultural codes proper to the students' out-of-school environment. They specify that these codes are typically found in cités and are notably relayed through French rap. According to participants' statements, the most noticeable of those cultural codes appears to be the language, involving specific slangs, tone, and accent:

> **Issaba:** "There's an accent… there is… you know, a lot of things, but it is not proper to everybody, you see. Take me for example, you know when students… when school starts again, every year: "Sir, you're from… You live in a cité?". You see? Those are questions that my 6th graders asked me the first time they saw me. The first time! So then, it's because… though I never noticed myself, haha! Yeah, it's noticeable, haha! From the first class! […] If students have this reflex… there must be something that… that links people to this environment, you know."

For some participants, fashion also represent a significant cités cultural code:

> **Yasmine:** "[Cités] developed their own proper code! That are neighbourhood codes… like fashion! Before, we used to be rockers, now we wear sweatpants, before, we used to wear ripped jeans, we used to… we used to wear big Docker's shoes, now we put on flip-flops over socks…"

Some participants describe those codes as not rooted in a specific culture, but rather as the result of a melting-pot – due to the environment's multiculturality – and the social situation, highlighting the fact that there is not a single cités culture but rather a multitude of cultures to be found in one environment:

> **Issaba:** "[…] there is the cité and the fact that it is a place where we were all brought up to live together, with other people with a migration background. But they all grew up in France, with kids who grow up in France, so it creates this… it creates a new culture let's say, that we call the cités culture, you know. […] And then also… the fact that… the fact that its often neighbourhoods with more difficult social conditions, let's say it has an impact as well, you know."

I.C.15. Significance of French rap in students' out-of-school environment:

Participants consider French rap as a natural part of students' out-of-school environment. They further argue that its presence there can even be overwhelming in some cases:

> **Camille:** "For me, rap... since I live in a Parisian suburb, it is part of… it is overwhelming in my life! I mean, I got friends who became rappers, I… I mean, for the National Music Day [French cultural celebration taking place every 21st of June and consisting of free public music shows performed on public places by both amateur and professional musicians] for instance most artists performing are rappers. I listen to it a lot, whether it is on the radio… in my private life, with friends, with my sisters…"

Some participants even argue that students have a "[French] rap cultural capital". Some students somewhat confirmed it during an observation in a Geography class where the teachers opened the class with a videoclip by local rapper Azim to introduce a course chapter on tourism. According to these students, knowing Azim was obvious:

> **Student 1:** "Sir, maybe some of us they don't know [Azim]!"
>
> **Student 2:** "Tell me who doesn't know Azim!"

> **Issaba:** "It's not because they like rap that… that they'll like [my Maths songs]. That's why, in fact that's my goal, it's to use their… basically their rap cultural capital let's say, you know, they all have a little rap cultural capital let's say."

I.C.16. Disadvantage environment and low socio-economic status:

Participants describe students' out-of-school living environment as a difficult environment afflicted with societal issues such as poverty, criminality and violence. Some participants especially insist on the potential hardship of their students' living situation due to their low socio-economic status:

> **Yasmine:** "[…] because they wear sweatpants, they aren't choosing to wear sweatpants, they wear sweatpants because they can't afford anything else. I

> mean… first, they are economically marginalised! They are in a place where… there is no means… many siblings live in the same bedroom, not all of them have access to a computer… not all of them eat sufficiently, this happens, we got some here! Not all of them! But still… I mean… I love how Ladj Ly appropriated the term "Les Misérables" [The Miserables – a 2019-film depicting difficult living conditions and uneasy relations with the police in cités, the title referring the eponym classic book by 19th century French author Victor Hugo dealing with social misery]… of course they are miserable… For most of them they are actual miserables."

I.C.17. Social exclusion:

Participants emphasise on the fact that cités are also characterised by social exclusion which articulates in different manners. First, they refer to France socio-spatial segregation, with poor and migrant populations typically dwelling the cités, in the suburbs, set apart from the city centres. Some participants further insist on socio-spatial segregation by referring to cités as "ghettos".

> **Suzanne:** "Especially when you work in France abandoned territories because I'm not scared to say it… We are in ghettos! And places that are left on the side lines more and more!"

A practical example of social exclusion is the fact that students typically do not travel outside of their cité – although Paris is relatively close and reachable using public transports in less than half an hour – and have limited knowledge of other environments outside the cité. However, participants could not tell if this was a cause or a consequence, or both, of social exclusion. This demonstrated during one of my observation in a Geography class in which tourism was the central theme of the course, students were surprised to learn from their teacher that Paris was the most visited city by tourists in the world:

> **Student:** "Sir! How come we never see tourists out there though?"

> **Teacher:** "That's because tourists stay in Paris city centre, where they can find museums and historical sites. They do not travel to the suburbs."

One key argument from participants to illustrate social exclusion is the lack of infrastructures, like social or cultural centres, in cités compares to other French territories:

> **Yasmine:** "[…] the difference… between what our students from [local city] have and what our students from [nearby city] have is huge! In [nearby city] they have a super library which is always open… that organises many cultural events, in [local city] for our students… we are in a part of [local city] which is far from everything! Students coming from the [cité in local city] have nothing! Daytime, they got nothing to do! Hence students that literally depends on us. You see them here, they won't leave the corridor. They stay [in the school premise] until… sometimes until 6.00 pm, 6:30 pm, they're still here! During the holidays we sometimes have to kick students out of the classrooms to send them on holyday, they don't want to. Because here, there are laptops, they can listen to music, some of them love us. For real! […] They completely depend on us, partly because […] apart from this middle school there are very few living spaces in [local cité]. They don't have much."

Social exclusion is also described in terms of discrimination – most often based on country of origin for the migrants, religion, or ethnicity – and marginalisation towards cités dwellers and the non-acceptance of foreign cultures and migrants as part of the French traditions and population.

Social exclusion of post-colonial migrants and their offspring is also described as systemic or institutionalised. In this sense, some participants claim that France is denying its colonial past. For instance, during a conversation on the topic in a school's staff room, teachers mentioned the 2005 attempt by Defence Minister Michèle Alliot-Marie to pass a law act that required teachers to "acknowledge and recognize in particular the positive role of the French presence abroad, especially in North Africa" (Journal officiel, 2005). This law act was blamed on by teachers, historians and legal experts (Boilley, 2005).

Participants also claim the social exclusion of cités dwellers is due to negative representations of cités in media that nurture the persistent stereotypes stigmatizing its population.

> **Lucas:** "So this is a… a specific context for social as well as cultural reasons and… here we encounter a France that is labelled by the news, by media, we know this well! And by society in any case! It means [this France] is sometimes pushed, we can say it, in the background, it is sometimes negatively perceived…"

I.C.18. French rap's close relationship to the French language:

Participants describe the appreciation and mastering of French language as central to French rap, some of them arguing that this relation to the language makes French rap stand out compared to other French musical genres:

> **Yasmine:** "In some other cases I use [rap] as a support, as I told you to study grammar too. […] Because [students] always tend to disconnect the work on the language, which means grammar, spelling, conjugation, from the literary work, while it's not… that's because we master grammar that we can understand… a literary text. So, there are some [rap] texts that I use to show them that… for example the use of tenses, why would a rapper shift to another tense at some point, that's not out of randomness, there's a message, it's not because he doesn't speak French well. So here I use it the other way around, they tell me "But Ma'am, he doesn't know how to speak well!", "He does, and that's the point! Here Nekfeu (popular French rapper), if he says: "tomorrow is far" instead of saying… this is because… if he doesn't use the future tense it's because the present tense has a value…"."

Some participants claim that the writing techniques in rap are rich and refined and require a profound mastering of the language. Some even argue that rap can overcome other form of poetry in terms of manipulation of the language:

> **Lucas:** "I must admit that, in French rap, I realised that these past years, in terms of what we can call the writing technique, there are some [rappers] who travel very far within formal uses of the language: rhyming schemas, compounding, multisyllables,

> flow variations, etc… that, we can perfectly… draw parallel between exigency in terms of versification, in the sense of what we could find at the time of 'art for art's sake', Théophile Gautier's manifest etc, people who… here you go, Parnassianism! All those things. And… the fetish you know, of some rappers for technique, rhyme technique."

During an observation of the first session of a rap-centred workshop in which students planned to record a rap song and make a video clip, students acknowledged that they had to improve their writing skills in order to produce a song and they relied on their French teacher to help them with the writing process because they were confident about her knowledge of and interest for poetry.

Issaba suggests his students to have a rhyme book in order to write some rap lines in which rhymes are based on the mathematical notions depicted in class. Although this is not compulsory, almost all students have a rhyme book. Sometimes, Issaba invites some students to perform their rhymes in front of the class at the end of the course. This happened twice during my observations in Issaba's classes and both times it would turn into a friendly rhyme battle between two students or between a student and the teacher, the one featuring the best rhymes being set as winner and acclaimed by the entire class. Although I could notice that some students paid great attention to the flow (melody), the central focus remained on the lyrical content for both the performer and the public. This reveals a competitive dimension in French rap based upon the mastering of French language. Issaba would eventually advice students on how to improve their rhymes if needed.

I.C.19. French rap as a French literary tradition:

Participants describe French rap as a legitimate French literary tradition, although they admit it is not systematically recognized as such. According to them, French rap and French literature, including poetry, tend to be dichotomized. However, they claim that French rap's writing processes and potential political engagement make the genre belong in the French literary tradition. Thus, although students may internalise the French rap and French literature dichotomy, they remain able to make use of their interest in rap to connect to other forms of French literature and poetry.

Yasmine: "I use [rap] really… as a support for literature, and to work on poetry, because rap is part of the poetic genre, I always try to locate rap within… within… the literary genre. I mean, within literature. Because [students] always believe it's completely set apart, but it isn't! They must stop believing that it's set apart, that's the point, because the more they keep saying it's set apart, the more they will marginalise it, so I constantly try to tell them: "No, no! Rap is poetry! It is songs, songs are poetry!". […] society tends to ostracise rap, and [students] themselves don't want to hear that… it belongs to the history of literature, though it does."

Camille: "[Comparing rap songs to 17th century fables] has totally changed [students'] perspective, they told themselves: "Yeah? So I didn't know that for example artists such as Lacrim [French rapper] […]" They thought it was just [improvised] rap. Without any work, without… how to put it, without pondering. And eventually, seeing them like: "Oh yeah, that's true! There's that rhyme! Oh right, those are that type of rhymes! There are iambic pentameters and all!", they were truly stoked!"

While this connection of French rap to French literature is most often highlighted by French teachers, due to their subject, I could notice during a lesson observation that Issaba draws upon it too. After a student performed some mathematics-related rhymes at the end of the class, one of her classmates commented to Issaba: "But Sir… She made a poem!", implying it did not sound like the typical rap lines he was expecting. Issaba replied: "So what? Poems need rhymes too, it's all about the same", insisting on rap's closeness to poetry and the importance of rhymes in writing rap.

I.C.20. French rap as a social, cultural and generation bridge:

The first argument of this initial code is that French rap acts as a universal culture in France as it appears to be shared by all layers of society. Participants acknowledge that rap first developed in cités, however, they argue that the musical genre's popularity quickly spread beyond its context of emergence and is now consumed and produced by people originating from all socio-

economic, cultural and Geographical backgrounds. In other words, they can relate French rap to a specific setting – cités – but believe that rap does not only belong to this environment:

> **Issaba:** "They're predominantly coming from cités, you know, those who participated to the popularisation of rap in… the 90's and early-2000's. And that's the kind of rap that always best worked, you know, the most popular one and so on, the rap that describes cités' everyday life […] however, the public has always been broader, always wider than those who practiced it. And now, let's say it broadened even among those who practice it, you know […] among those who practice it… there are many who aren't from cités and still they do it. […] So it evolved through time."

Some participants add that French rap has nowadays an overwhelming presence in cultural media and represents the most popular and bestselling musical genre in France. They further claim that French rap, as a musical genre, diversified and became very eclectic, offering various styles of instrumental and lyrical content (from 'consciousness-raising' rap to party rap among many others) and even connecting to other genres such as pop music (qualified as "urban pop").

> **Yasmine:** "I think you can't not listen to [rap] now. It's everywhere! You turn on your TV and see rap videoclips, turn on your radio and there's rap, come to the school and everybody's talking about it […] You can't miss out rap anymore."

> **Issaba:** "[…] now, as you say, rap is very broad, it's very, very diversified and so on. So liking rap doesn't mean anything. You see, there are many different rap styles […] May it be about the beat, about the lyrical content, the themes depicted… you see, there's about everything in rap now! […] You can even make rap for dancing now."

Another argument encompassed within this initial code is that not only is French rap shared by all layers of society, but also it can connect those different layers together. Some participants describe personal experiences in which they could form close ties with people from a different social class, culture, or generation thanks to their common passion for rap:

> **Yasmine:** "Rap unified my friend group! I've grown up with the same group of friends for… and I'm still growing up with them now, but we got nothing to do

with each other! We're from completely different social environments! We absolutely don't have the same ambitions, we don't have the same kind of jobs… but we are completely… […] we have very few common points, and in fact we all had a love for rap that… that gathered us in parties. We could spend hours listening to songs, talking about it! And still today, we send tracks to each other, we talk about it, we made a common tattoo! I mean… you know… yeah, we created our own little culture… though at the beginning I felt illegitimate, first because I'm a girl, because rap isn't so open to girls, and second because I am white and from a privileged background. So at first, I didn't feel legitimate as a rap fan, and within my group of friends that never mattered! I mean… whether you are… a teen with a migrant background, or… a young privileged-white one, we just listened to the same music together. And it is still the case!"

According to participants' experiences, teachers can connect to the students thanks to their common interest in French rap, despite generation gap and the fact that they may belong to different social classes and/or cultures:

> **Guillaume: "**I think that having the rap codes helps me a lot! […] at the end of the day I feel more… I think closer, in terms of culture, to students, some of the students, than to many teachers in the staff room. […] In fact, we listen to the same things! When they say "Yeah, Ninho!" [French rapper who grew popularity over the past few years – one of the most popular rappers among students according to several teachers]… we listened to the album, huh? And that allows me to create relationships that are more… you know. It makes it easier with some students."

Some participants argue that French rap's popularity beyond its context of emergence is an evidence of openness by listeners to unfamiliar social settings and cultural traditions:

> **Issaba:** "[…] there are different reasons for you to listen to rap. It may be because you can identify to the character, but it can also be because you find the track great! […] And that's what make people, as you said, that have nothing to do with

> the daily life describe in some [songs] can still… find this dope and enjoy it, you know. […] If somebody has nothing to do with that, but appreciates the music… that has nothing to do with cités, that has never lived in a cité, then likes the music too from someone else […] it necessarily creates links, you see, or I don't know. But it creates something, between them, it makes him… If he appreciates his music there's no reason not to appreciate something else, you know."

One participant illustrates this concept with the example of manga and geek culture that she considers as now linked to the French rap culture while she claims those two used to be separated in the past. She further argues that French rap participated to the popularisation of mangas in cités:

> **Yasmine:** "Though what's surprising is that along with [rap culture] a geek culture developed, one that didn't belong to [cités youth] before. I mean… […] all that we were: skaters, rockers, blablabla… all our manga culture and so on, it completely… moved… to the [cités] now, so they really got these two cultures that connected, that's quite funny! […] But I don't know if it creates… yeah; it does, it does create links between different groups. Yes, yes, yes! It creates strong links! It creates… it especially creates a generation bridge, this is what I find… I find interesting!"

In the line of the concepts depicted in this initial code, a participant made me notice during an informal conversation that even this research can be considered a demonstration of French rap as a social, cultural, and generation bridge for French rap brought me to this research and thus to meet those teachers and connected their job to my research plan and purposes, despite potential social, cultural and generation gaps.

I.C.21. French rap as more than a musical genre: Rap's politics:

French rap is described as more than a musical genre as participants emphasise on its political sensitivity. This political orientation is common in rap although it is not to be found in all French

rap productions. However, according to participants descriptions, political awareness appears to be something inherent to the French rap culture:

> **Yasmine:** "I got politically engaged very young… from middle school I was in unions. I mean, I was very engaged, and I think I quickly found in rap… that reflexion on inequalities that outraged me, as a rather privileged person […] so that political stance brought me to rap."

First, French rap is presented as a genre that is critical towards society. The genre represents a means for identifying and denouncing societal issues such as systemic inequalities, systems of domination, institutional oppression, and various forms of social exclusion – 'ghettoization' of a part of the French population, racism, islamophobia, xenophobia. According to participants, rappers and their public make use of the genre to resist oppression as they explicitly stand against powerful institutions and influential personalities that they judge oppressive and inequalitarian such as the police, School and targeted politicians among others. Guidance counsellors are also frequently targeted by rappers as they are depicted as representing and articulating systems of dominance:

> **Suzanne:** "[…] so, [among French rap's common themes] there is clearly the critique of the French Republic. Which is fundamental to me! […] This denunciation, I find it extremely important. And yeah; to me rap makes sense when it is contesting."

Some participants defend the idea that French rap's critical perspective aims at promoting the social integration of marginalised minorities:

> **Yasmine:** "I don't know if it's the same will of emancipation [as in American Hip Hop/rap], I think… the way I see it in France is more like… a will to show, to prove that we exist. Maybe not emancipating but saying… "Us too, we belong in France! We belong in your cities! We belong in your culture!" […] "Hi! We exist! We're the biggest share in the [musical] market, stop ignoring us!"[…] I see it more as… as a will to affirm their existence in France."

I.C.22. French rap as an educator and a motivation:

Some participants consider French rap as a source of knowledge that sensitized them about societal issues and enlightened them about the realities of life in other socio-spatial environment than their own – especially cités. In some cases, French rap helped them further understand their students' perspective on some key societal issues they typically have to deal with, such as school failure for example. Moreover, some of those participants further claim they find in French rap a motivation to stand for social justice and even to teach in a REP school in Seine-Saint-Denis:

> **Yasmine:** "I know… I did a lot of politics, I was in youth political movements. And when I was given… often I quote rap lyrics and often I… I said… when I spoke in public I said my engagement came from... rap! Well… *Demain c'est loin* [iconic song by the iconic French rap band IAM relating inequalities and social exclusion in France] is a trigger of my wish to… to be here! I think that's why I work here now. But… I think… I mean rap has extremely strong links with my political engagement!"

I.C.23. Use of French rap in the classroom: "keep it real" – doing it well as a condition sine qua non:

Participants particularly emphasise on a principle for using French rap in the classroom, and make it efficient for making students learn from it, that appears to be essential to them: the use of French rap in the classroom has to be done well. In the case of Issaba, he argues that his songs are appreciated by students and help them learning the course content because he is a genuine and talented rapper – which was confirmed by several students when I talked to them. In a more general manner, the success of using French rap in class relies on its authenticity – which coincidentally echoes with the fundamental Hip Hop principle 'keep it real', hence its feature in this initial code's title. In practice, that 'keep it real' attitude is illustrated by participants' emphasis on the difference between pedagogy and demagogy in using content that they believe is appreciated by students. They claim to only use French rap in class in the case they have genuine knowledge about French rap and do appreciate it themselves. Although their approach is student-centred, participants are still keen to make their own enjoyment in teaching with content they personally appreciate:

Issaba: "It's rather the fact that it's done well that impacts on pupils! It is done well! Because when I told my pupils… when I told them I would make [a song] about Pythagoras, first they were like… They were ready to make fun of me. […] They were ready to make fun of me because Pythagoras is basically a twat's thing, you know, a rap about Pythagoras in their mind is a twat's thing. Then you know, when I did it, I did it well and there was nothing to say about it, you know, it stoked them! So, the fact that it is done well is the first… the first thing that will have an impact."

Yasmine: "I can get their attention [using rap] so I enjoy the opportunity, and that's because I know what I talk about, if I didn't know I wouldn't use it. Because for me there's always… there's an extremely important difference between pedagogy and slipping up in demagogy, that means I don't want to… I don't want to buy social peace! I don't want to say: "Alright, we'll work on rap because I want you to be quiet for the next two weeks.", sometimes they aren't quiet at all. When I did the value of tenses on Nekfeu's and S.Pri Noir's song [two popular French rappers] they messed up a lot because they didn't understand anything to the value of tenses. So it's not necessarily a tool to keep them quiet. But they are interested in it and so am I, because I like it."

In this sense, some participants also use French rap in class to teach students about the French rap culture itself. In this case, the use of French rap in the class has no formal relation to the content knowledge and may simply draw on the interest in French rap that students and teachers share. This ranges from opening students to French rap's diversity of styles to teaching them about the history of rap and French rap, and sometimes about its roots in Hip Hop culture, or providing them with a more critical perspective on what they listen to. Participant also like to remind students of the formal work required for producing rap songs as they claim students often ignore the professionalism of French rap. The first session of Yasmine's rap workshop started with her asking students if they knew to what cultural movement rap belonged, as she meant to find out whether students were familiar with Hip Hop culture and its relation to rap music.

<u>I.C.24. Use of French rap in the classroom: facilitating teaching aims and strategies:</u>

French rap can represent a tool for participants to facilitate the achievement of what they consider as the prior aims of School. For instance, French rap lyrics dealing with societal issues can be used to teach students about the Valeurs de la République – such as the strive against discriminations and racism for example – in compliance with the School's mission of training future citizens:

> **Yasmine:** "It was a sequence on… how do you call it again… on the theme of the 9th grader curriculum 'Denouncing societal issues', I got a chapter on… denouncing racism and social inequalities. Thus, I used… *Musique Nègre* [Negro Music] by Kery James and… *Nés Sous la Même Etoile* [Born Under the Same Star] by IAM."

Focusing on a more technical aspect of the practice, the use of French rap in the classroom allows participants to facilitate their teaching strategies. As mentioned before, participants are keen to bridge in- and out-of-school knowledge and practices, and render the content knowledge accessible to their students (I.C.9.). In other words, teachers use the previously cited social, cultural and generation bridging dimension of rap in order to give opportunities to students to appropriate content that may first appear foreign or unfamiliar to them.

Some participants explain that using French rap allows students to get more involved in class as French rap is a culturally accessible form of content for them. Students have prior knowledge of French rap – what was earlier described as their '[French] rap cultural capital' (I.C.15.) – and there seems to be no cultural boundaries hindering students from appropriating French-rap-related content and learn from it. Furthermore, according to participants, rap does not appear to students as a something uninteresting or worrisome:

> **Yasmine:** "Because [rap] is something they care about and I think… it's especially more accessible to them! That means… it's accessible like… it's not too complex, there is no cultural boundary, they can access the lyrics, so we can directly reflect on relevant matters. There is no language boundary, though there is style, some metaphors and figures of style them won't understand in some rap texts, so we'll work on it together. But at least, it makes it more accessible… These are moments where… where we can push the reflection further because… they're not so reluctant to the text. […] We deal with a cultural framework that is meaningful to them."

Most participants claimed that they can identify a natural compatibility between French rap and content knowledge. This appears to be due to the fact that French rap is considered by participants as a form of French literature and a means of expression. This also applies to the content of French rap songs as some references and the political dimension of French rap can relate to the curricular content knowledge.

4.2.3. Focused coding

According to the CGT tradition, once initial coding is done the researcher can identify the most relevant and recurrent initial codes, gather them, and explore their relationships in order to construct core categories, which corresponds to the reach of a further level of abstraction (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). This process is known as focused coding (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). Glaser (1978, 1998, 2005), in his original GT, advocates for the generation of a sole core category (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.8). However, constructivist grounded theorists recommend constructing several core categories in order to increase data sensitivity and deepen the "analytic rendering of the data and the theoretical usefulness of the completed report" (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.8). Thornberg and Charmaz also claim that this openness allows more flexibility throughout the data analysis, which is essential in CGT (2014, p.8). Once again, to generate core categories the research needs to apply constant comparison of data, initial codes, and categories with one another. (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). The core categories generated during the phase of focused coding will eventually lead to the final coding phase and higher level of abstraction: theoretical coding.

Focused coding occurs in two step in this research. Due to the significant number of initial codes, a first level of abstraction is reached with the emergence of categories (Ct.*n*.). Those categories are constructed upon the study of the relationships between initial codes. The same comparative analytic process is then applied to categories in order to reach a further level of abstraction. This study of the relationships between categories and categories, and between initial codes and categories, results in the creation of core categories (C.Ct.*n*.).

The making of categories and core categories mostly took place throughout the fieldwork data collections in schools, following the emergence of initial codes. First instances of catego-

ries appeared along with the numerous pre-initial codes. Further data collection and the amending of pre-initial codes towards final initial codes led to the revision of categories as well as the development of the first core categories. Just like with initial codes, all 9 categories and 4 core categories emerged before the end of data collection, soon after the final establishment of initial codes as they would appear in the final product of the research. Further data collected only fit the existing categories and did not justify any modification. The next two sub-section respectively details the categories and core categories emerging from the final product of my data analysis.

4.2.4. Categories

Each of the 9 following categories (Ct.*n*.) illustrate the common matters emerging from the relationships between of various initial codes. The description of each category is significantly shorter than those of the initial codes they build upon. The reason for it as that categories are more abstract, therefore their definitions consist of more conceptual elements instead of illustrative examples taken from the raw data.

Ct.1. The French Republican School's mission: training future citizens:

This first category draws from the initial codes I.C.1. and I.C.2. During my analysis, it stood out that the French Republican School, may they be REP schools or not, was not only a place to learn content knowledge, but also a place of socialisation. The French School has a prior mission to train future citizens, which is accomplished through teaching common social norms and gathering students among a universal French School culture and common values of citizenship – the Valeurs de la République. This School's mission has an impact on participants' teaching practices and relates to their use of French rap in the classroom which is explained later in this paper.

Ct.2. The REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis as a different school:

The experiences of participants reveal that they consider the REP School as a different school. While on one hand this appears to be due to the assessable inequalities between REP and non-REP schools, such as academic achievement gap, lack of means, and out-of-school factors, on the other hand the labelling effect of the REP policy seems to contribute to the marginalisation of REP schools. In practice, teachers' job is described as more complicated and demanding than in non-REP schools.

Ct.3. Teaching practices in REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis: contextual adaptations:

This category encompasses participants' description of the specificity of their job in terms of teaching practices and according to the particularities of their school settings. Participants adopt a student-centred approach, implying a significant grasp of their students and their living environment, in order to bridge in- and out-of-school knowledge and experiences. The aim of such a pedagogical adaptation is to allow students to appropriate the School knowledge. However, participants maintain high expectations in terms of students' achievement as they are keen to treat them like students from any other school setting. In conclusion, this specific context of schooling forces teachers to adapt their teaching practices according to the difficulties they and students encounter. This reveals that the practice of teaching in REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis may differ from other school settings, reinforcing the arguments from the previous category (Ct.2.).

Ct.4. Aims of the REP School: the significance of socialisation:

While the previous category describes the specificities of teaching practices in REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis, this one highlights how those school's particular aims differ from that of other schooling context. Participants do not necessarily consider the content knowledge of their subject as their prior mission. In fact, due to the local context, and unlike in non-REP schools, students appear to be most often unfamiliar with the established School's norms of socialisation. Consequently, teachers set socialisation of students as their priority and view the REP School as a place for students to appropriate formal codes and learn to symbolically travel across different socio-cultural spheres. Therefore, not only is their prior mission to teach students' the School's norms of socialisation, but also to make them understand the role of School

and give them faith in this institution as ensuring their social mobility in the future. These steps are essential as participants state that without completing them first then teaching the content knowledge will remain inefficient.

Ct.5. Students' cultures and out-of-school environment:

Although participants describe their schools as having a homogeneous student population in terms of socio-economic status, cultural diversity remains more significant in REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis than in other settings. This category constructs upon the logic behind this statement. Students' out-of-school environment is considerably multicultural due to a significant share of post-colonial immigrants among the overall population of the department. Most students seem to share local cultural codes, such as the language, which construct upon the cultural hybridity of their environment made of French cultural traditions mixed with many others. Additionally, French rap appears to be part of students' daily life in their out-of-school environment, whether they personally listen to it or not.

Ct.6. Cités in Seine-Saint-Denis as a disadvantaged environment:

This category reveals students' potential hardship of living in a disadvantaged environment. Their precarious situation appears not only to be due to their low socio-economic status, but also to the social exclusion that afflicts them directly as much as their living environment. Besides experiencing poverty, various factors contribute to the marginalisation of the Seine-Saint-Denis disadvantaged neighbourhoods' population, such as socio-spatial segregation, the lack of infrastructure, discriminations including racism and xenophobia, the lack of recognition of France's colonial history by formal institutions such as School, negative representation of cités in media, and instances of police abuse among others. As a consequence or aggravating factor of that social exclusion, participants' students seem to be unfamiliar with other environments than their own. Participants demonstrate a significant knowledge of the difficulties of students' living environment and its potentially negative impact on school success.

Ct.7. French rap as a French cultural tradition:

This category offers a definition of French rap in relation to the overall French culture. Participants consider French rap as a legitimate French cultural tradition. A first argument to defend this statement draws on French rap's appreciation of the French language, as French rap is also described as an incentive to mastering the language. Another justification for French rap as a typically French cultural tradition relies on the genre's connection to French literature and songs. Notably because of its references to and inspiration drawn from "classic" French literature and songs, participants consider French rap as a legitimate French literary tradition.

Ct.8. French rap as a social, cultural and generation bridge:

This category highlights the universalistic trend of French rap. The definition of French rap is set beyond the mere musical genre as it also embeds political concerns, which partly explains how French rap connects different social, cultural and generation spheres together. Among other political messages found commonly found in French rap is the claim of social integration by dominated minorities. It is according to this dimension that some participants view French rap as an educator, informing them about societal issues from the perspective of socio-cultural setting different from their own. To another extent, some even find in French rap a motivation to social justice, political engagement and teaching in a REP school in Seine-Saint-Denis. Moreover, French rap's popularity seems to explain how the genre can act as a social, cultural, and generation bridge too. Indeed, French rap dominates the musical industry in France. Just like with its consumption, the production of French rap seems to encounter no socio-cultural boundary. In conclusion, beyond being a sole musical genre, French rap acts as a culture that is intelligible by all layers of society, hence its universalistic trend.

Ct.9. Use of French rap in the classroom:

Although participants' uses of French rap in the classroom may be diverse, they most often reflect teachers' overall perception of the School's missions. When French-rap-related content is featured as a pedagogical tool, it can be interpreted as a student-centred pedagogical strategy. In that case, teachers choose French rap in order to bridge in- and out-of-school knowledge and practices. This approach starts from the premise that the type of content that students encounter out-of-school is culturally accessible to them while still legitimate according to the School's

norms and curriculum. This applies to both School's core missions previously depicted: socialisation of students – like when consciousness raising rap is used to deal with the Valeurs de la République – and the mere teaching of content knowledge – for example, using French rap songs to study rhyme patterns and figures of style. In other words, participants' use of French rap in the classroom is bound to their schooling context. However, authenticity in the approach remains an essential feature. The effectiveness of teachers' uses of French rap as a pedagogical tool requires a genuine interest in and knowledge of the genre. Participants' student-centred approach implies that the course is co-constructed by teachers and students together. In this case this is only rendered possible when teachers truly share an interest in French rap with their students. In short, participants' use of French rap in the classroom is necessarily made in line with their teaching objectives and typically serve their pedagogical strategies to achieve those objectives. Therefore, this practiced is framed by the context of schooling within which it takes place.

4.2.5. Core categories

Core categories allow to highlight specific relationships between categories by gathering them under a common cluster – or group of categories. Those clusters represent the broader concepts encompassing the more specific concerns that each category illustrate. This step is essential as it corresponds to the final level of abstraction reached through data analysis – before the introduction of extant literature detailed in the *Theory up-scaling* section. Indeed, the initial emerging theory will draw on the study of the relationships between those concepts. The process of designing core categories (C.Ct.*n*.) thus allows to isolate those concepts in order to ultimately compare them with one another.

<u>C.Ct.1. French Republican School:</u>

This core category represents the French Republican School as a supposedly universal institution – in the sense that its principles should apply to all French schools. So far, the existing initial codes and categories suggest that the leading mission of the French Republican School is to train future citizens – notably through the creation of a universal School culture and the

transmission of the Valeurs de la République. However, since this core category builds upon the official missions of the French Republican School, it needs to be compared to the original data, more specifically to the *Common framework of knowledge, skills and culture* (Journal officiel de la République Française). This official governmental document details the official missions of the French School and states that teaching curricular content knowledge is the other leading mission of the French Republican School, along with the training of future citizens. Therefore, this core category illustrates the French Republican School as a universal institution that is primarily responsible for training future citizens and teaching the content knowledge defined through official school curricula.

C.Ct.2. REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis:

This second core category consists of participants' view of the REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis as differing from other school settings. This differentiation builds on the three categories that specifically draw on participants' experience of teaching in this specific context of schooling. The relationships between these categories reveal that the REP School's specific agenda, prioritising student socialisation, impacts on teaching practices as it forces specific contextual pedagogical adaptations and make teachers' job more demanding. In short, this core category highlight the fact that although REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis belong to the realm of French Republican School, these schools remain differentiated from others.

C.Ct.3. Student out-of-school reality:

This core categories corresponds to students' living environment and the reality of their life outside of school. Just like the previous core category constructs on the specificities of the REP school in Seine-Saint-Denis compared to other French schools, this core category reflects the specificity of cités in Seine-Saint-Denis compared to other French territories and the particular living conditions of local dwellers. This core category allows to isolate out-of-school factors that may have an impact on students' and teachers' experience of school.

C.Ct.4. French rap:

This final core category encompasses French rap and its use in the classroom by participants. It provides a definition of French rap according to participants' depiction of the genre. This definition of French rap is in no way intended to be holistic, but purposefully framed by the topic and context of research. Central to this core category is the fact that the definition of French rap is diverse and relates to various concepts – from uses of the French language to bridging in- and out-of-school experiences for example. The different categories relating to French rap all relate to another within this core category. In compliance with the pragmatic stance of grounded theory, these relations can be verified by comparing this core category to the data. For instance, while Lucas claims that as a French teacher his mission is to allow his students to "dialogue with authors, that are supposedly far from them, with cultural universes that are far from them, of which they may think are not made for them" (Ct.8.), Camille enables it by comparing students' favourite French rap songs to 17th century fables (Ct.9.) and explaining that French rap is a form of French literature (Ct.7.).

4.3. Building an initial emerging theory

In order to draw the initial emerging theory, the relationships that core categories share with one another are studied. For this purpose, not only must the connections between core categories be analysed and highlighted, but also the way in which they can be separate from each other. The study of such relationships occurs through the comparison of core categories with one another in light of the composing categories and initial codes. In order to facilitate the comprehension of those relationships, this section consists of constructing schematised representations of those.

A first observation reveals that both the C.Ct.1 and C.Ct.3. core categories share direct relationship with C.Ct.2. (see Figure 3). For instance, REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis (C.Ct.2.) remain by definition French Republican schools (C.Ct.1) for they are public State's schools and meet the principle of training future citizens (Ct.1.).

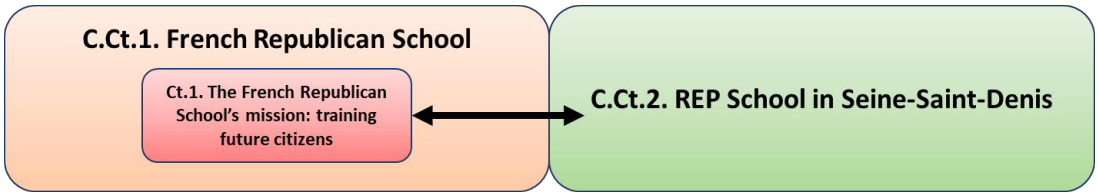


Figure 3 *Relationship between C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.2*

One relationship among others between C.Ct.2. and C.Ct.3. can be drawn from the fact that participants' student-centred teaching strategies (I.C.8.) rely on a genuine grasp of their students' out-of-school environment and living conditions (C.Ct.3.) (see Figure 4).

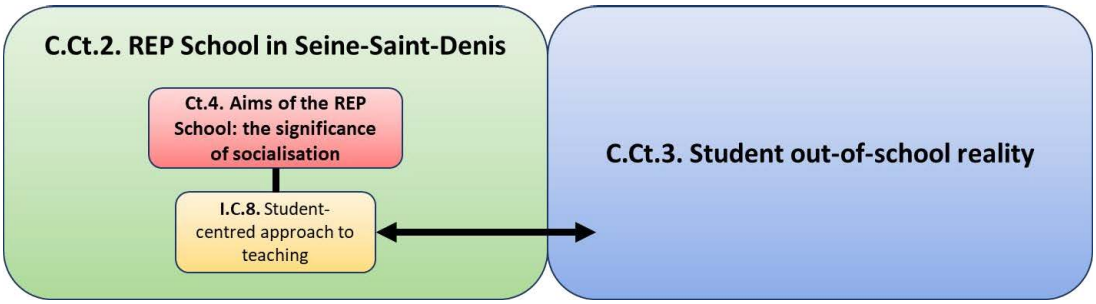


Figure 4 *Relationship between C.Ct.2. and C.Ct.3*

Nevertheless, while C.Ct.2. shares relationships with both C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3., these two latter core categories have no direct connection between each other (see Figure 5).

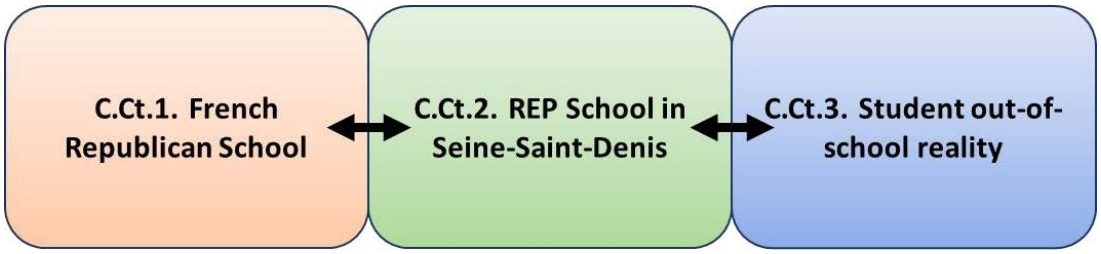


Figure 5 *Relationships between C.Ct.1., C.Ct.2., and C.Ct.3*

This lack of direct connection between C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3, while C.Ct.2. shares direct relationships with both, led me to investigate this phenomenon of separation. Further data analysis with the use of constant comparison allowed me to identify two dichotomies (D.1. and D.2.). These two dichotomies are primarily rooted in participants' claims and the official documents constituting part of the data. They also reflect throughout the different phases of data analysis, from initial codes alone to the relationships between core categories. The next sub-section describes this analytic process along with a depiction of those two dichotomies.

One should note the core category C.Ct.4. does not appear in the study of the core categories' relationships so far. This results from two interrelated factors: first, a desire to initially treat French-rap-related concerns and matters directly relating to the context of schooling separately. Indeed, these two issues should be first isolated and then brought to comparison since the purpose of this research is to understand the potential relationships between the use of French rap in the classroom and the specific context of schooling of REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis. Secondly, the core categories C.Ct.1., C.Ct.2., and C.Ct.3. directly relate to the experiences of schooling in Seine-Saint-Denis REP schools. Therefore, these three core categories, and their sets of relationships, act as a representation of this specific context of schooling.

4.3.1. Dichotomies

The two following dichotomies provide an explanation to the divide between some core categories, resulting in a lack of direct connection between C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3. In their essence, the dichotomies D.1. and D.2. consist of the alleged opposition of two conceptual sites (respectively C.S.1. vs. C.S.2., and C.S.A. vs. C.S.B.). For each dichotomy, conceptual sites build upon specific focuses, or contradictions: the leading missions of schools for D.1., and the socialisation issue for D.2. In order to understand how these dichotomies contribute to the emerging theory, core categories must be positioned within the frameworks of D.1. and D.2. This process is rendered possible by the comparison of raw data, initial codes, categories, and core categories.

The choice of these two specific dichotomies as an explanation for the lack of connection between C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3. occurred in compliance with the CGT's abductive approach. Indeed, several hypotheses have been formed in order to explain such a divide, all based on the raw data and the various phases of data analysis. These two dichotomies were eventually selected as the best candidate hypotheses for they seem to represent the most significant contextual challenges participants encounter through their professional duties. Additionally, the dichotomy's model implies the division of a whole. It thus matches the phenomenon of division between C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3., while these two along with C.Ct.2. make a whole that represent participants' specific school context.

D.1. Mainstream school settings–REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis:

Focusing on the leading missions of the French Republican School and those of the REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis reveals a first dichotomy. Indeed, in the REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis teaching the curricular content knowledge is compromised by the prioritisation of student socialisation. Therefore, there is a gap between the reality of REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis and the ideal completion of the leading missions of the French Republican School (see Figure 6).

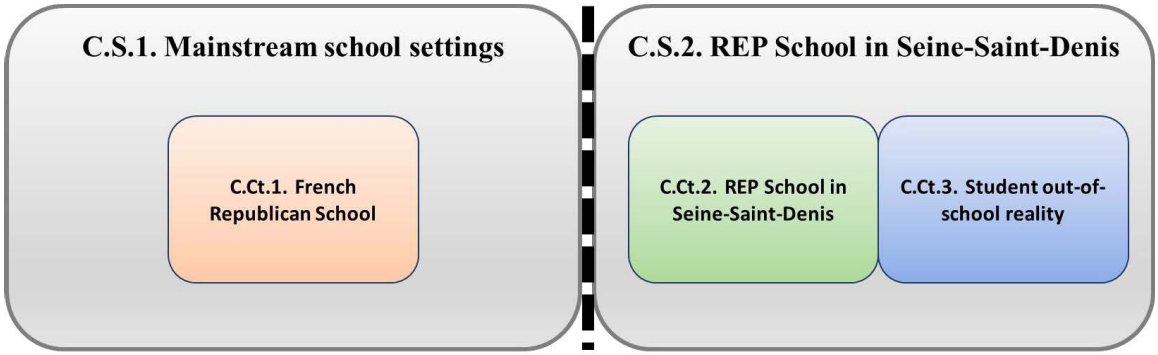


Figure 6 *D.1.*

This reflects the argument that REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis are to be consider as different from mainstream school settings – notably highlighted in I.C.2. and overall through C.Ct.2. As a result, this first dichotomy draws on the partition of French schools in two groups – or conceptual sites – based on the leading missions of the given schools. In this sense, the *Mainstream school settings* constitutes a first conceptual site (C.S.1.) separate from *REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis* (C.S.2.). Thus, the ideal completion of all French Republican School's missions belongs in the *Mainstream school settings* conceptual site (C.S.1.), while consequently the core categories *C.Ct.2.* and *C.Ct.3.* position within C.S.2. The dichotomisation of *Mainstream school settings* and *REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis* is further justified by the labelling effect of priority education policies described in I.C.4.

D.2. School's norms of socialisation–Students with socialisation lag:

A second dichotomy can be established in relation to the first one, the focus being placed on the socialisation issue this time. As previously mentioned, REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis give a priority to the socialisation of students. This statement partly builds upon the initial code

I.C.11. which encompasses participants' view of students as unfamiliar with the School's norms of socialisation. This observation articulates the second dichotomy that consists of the opposition between *School's norms of socialisation* (C.S.A.) on one side, and *Students with socialisation lag* (C.S.B.) on the other one.

Locating core categories within those two new conceptual sites requires a comparison of core categories and the initial code initiating this dichotomy: I.C.11. Starting with C.Ct.3, participants remain clear on the fact that socialisation lag is predominantly rooted in students' out-of-school reality – given the examples among others of students' lack of faith in school due to their family's and acquaintances' experience or their home language of communication that may differ from French. Therefore, the core category C.Ct.3. positions within the *Students with socialisation lag* conceptual site.

In order to position the core category C.Ct.1. within these conceptual sites, not only is comparison required, but also direct references to the first dichotomy's framework must be drawn. Indeed, while on one hand the socialisation lag may be encountered among students of in any French Republican school, on the other hand this phenomenon appears to be more significant in participants' specific school setting, to the point that it even compromises the teaching of content knowledge. This latter statement connects to the previous dichotomy in which C.S.1. and C.S.2. constitute two different conceptual sites based on the fact that REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis prioritise student socialisation at the expense of the other leading mission of the French Republican School, namely teaching the curricular content knowledge. In this sense, "the ideal completion of the leading missions of the French Republican School" – to purposefully use the words from the description of the first dichotomy – implies that students are already familiar with School's norms of socialisation. Therefore, the core category C.Ct.1. belong in the C.S.A. *School's norms of socialisation* conceptual site.

Positioning the core category C.Ct.2. within this framework is more intricate. First, that second dichotomy articulates around the initial code I.C.11. that belongs to this core category. Therefore, since the divide between the two sites appears to be rooted in this core category, one may locate it in-between these two sites (see Figure 7).

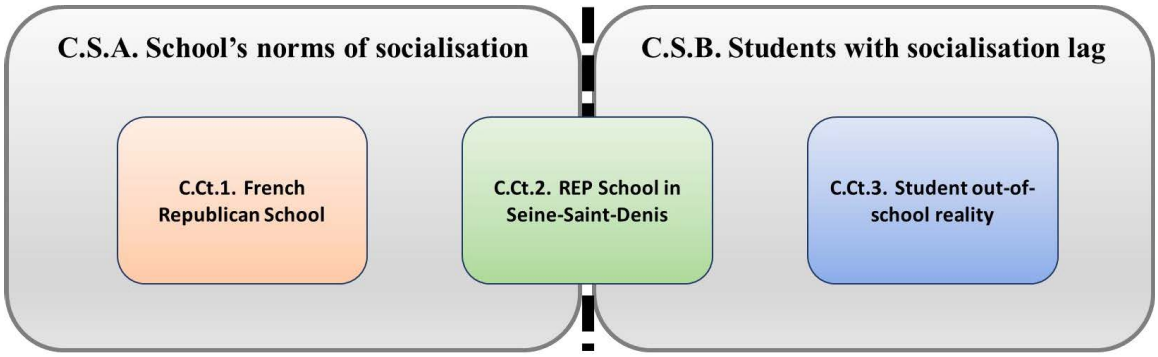


Figure 7 *Positioning of C.Ct.2. within the framework of D.2.*

In fact, comparing this dichotomy framework to the elements composing this core category offers a support to this argument. Indeed, the specific mission of REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis (Ct.4.) builds upon students' socialisation lag (I.C.11.) that is allegedly rooted in their out-of-school reality (C.Ct.3.) (see Figure 8).

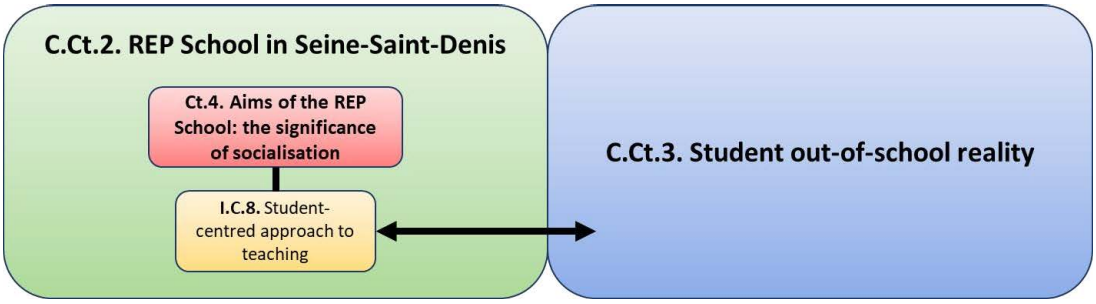


Figure 8 *Relationship between C.Ct.2. and C.Ct.3.*

This prioritisation of student socialisation implies contextual pedagogical adaptations from teachers (Ct.3.). Among these strategies, the one consisting of bridging in- and out-of-school knowledge (*I.C.9.*) – like in the case teachers use rap songs to teach about the Valeurs de la République (I.C.2.). Additionally, the prioritisation of student socialisation goes in the sense of ultimately reaching "the ideal completion of the leading missions of the French Republican School", which draws a direct connection between C.Ct.2. and C.Ct.1. In short, the C.Ct.2. acts as a bridge creating indirect connections between C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3 (see Figure 9).

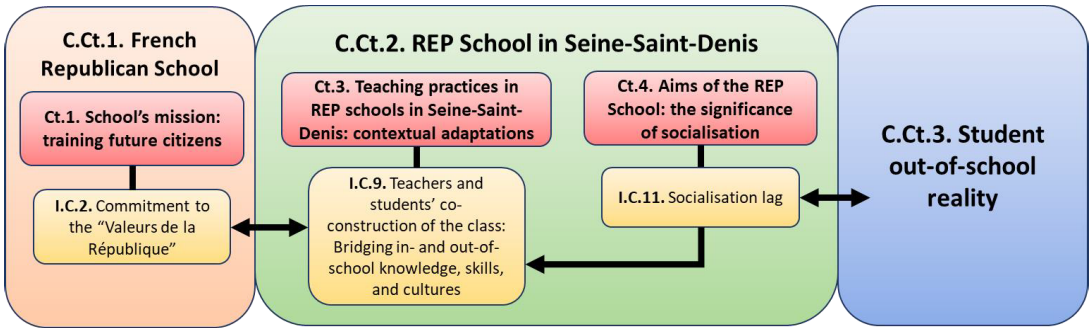


Figure 9 *C.Ct.2.'s direct relationships with C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3.*

Therefore, the core category C.Ct.2. positions in-between C.S.A. *School's norms of socialisation* and C.S.B. *Students with socialisation lag* for it tends to bridge both these conceptual sites together like illustrated in Figure 9. In that sense, the REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis represents an attempt to overcome this dichotomy.

4.3.2. Relationships between French rap (C.Ct.4.) and other core categories

As previously explained, the C.Ct.4. core category has been voluntarily discarded from the study of core categories' relationships, including the dichotomies' frameworks, so far. In fact, the category Ct.9. shows that this specific teaching practice is framed by the context of schooling within which it occurs. It is therefore rooted in the relationships between the other core categories, hence the need to study them independently in the first instances. Indeed, using French rap in the classroom notably represents a means to facilitate the fulfilment of the French Republican School's missions (I.C.24. ; C.Ct.1.). It also allows participants to bridge in- and out-of-school experiences – for French rap also belongs to students' out-of-school life (Ct.5.) – in compliance with the teaching strategies adopted due to the specific school settings (Ct.3.). In conclusion, C.Ct.4. draws multiple relationships with all other core categories, some of those being illustrated in Figure 10.

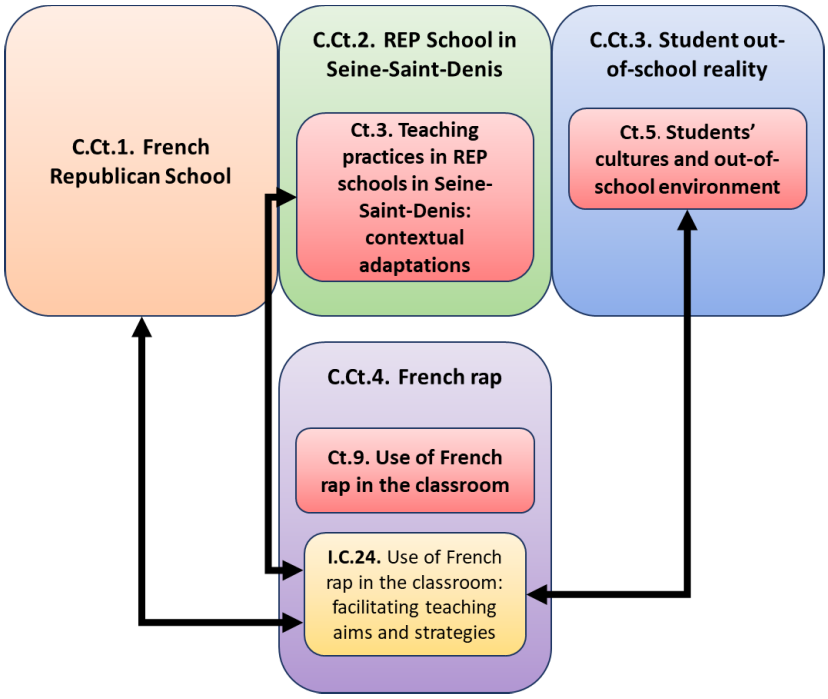


Figure 10 *C.Ct.4.'s relationships with C.Ct.1., C.Ct.2., and C.Ct.3.*

Considering those direct relationships C.Ct.4. draws with every core category, the use of French rap in the classroom can be considered as a means for teachers to move past the previously depicted dichotomies:

First, C.Ct.4. tends to invalidate the second dichotomy (D.2.). Indeed, as previously mentioned participants use French rap as a pedagogical tool in order to bridge in- and out-of-school knowledge, which ultimately allows them to overcome socialisation lag. Therefore, Figure 11 shows how C.Ct.4. positions in between D.2.'s two conceptual sites. In this framework, C.Ct.4. acts just like C.C.t.2. as it bridges together the core categories C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3 (see Figure 11). In fact, the use of French rap in the classroom here represents a practical instance of how the REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis attempts to overcome the dichotomy D.2.

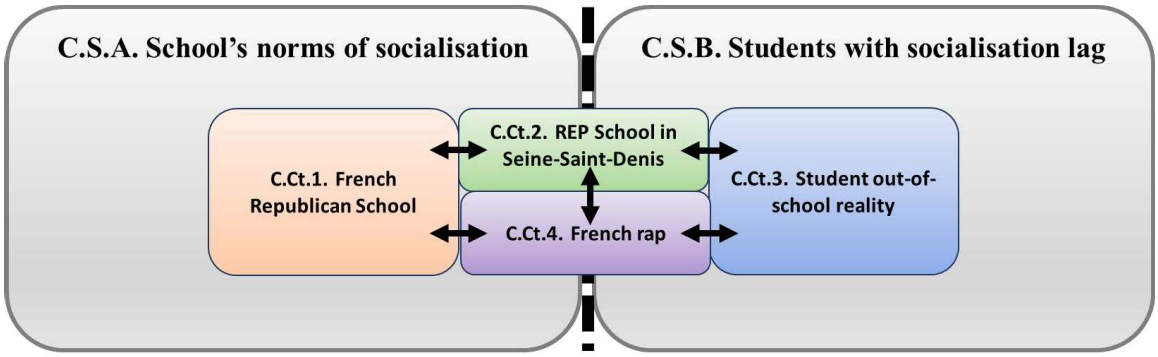


Figure 11 *Positioning C.Ct.4. within the framework of D.2.*

Moreover, the first dichotomy (D.1.) mainly articulates around the fact that unlike in other school settings (C.S.1.), teaching the curricular content knowledge is compromised in REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis (C.S.2.) due to the prioritisation of student socialisation. However, using French rap as a pedagogical tool represents a contextual pedagogical adaptation making the curriculum content knowledge more accessible to students. Thus, the use of French rap in the classroom constitutes a means for REP teachers in Seine-Saint-Denis to move beyond the mere socialisation of students and facilitates the completion of the leading missions of the French Republican School (C.Ct.1.). In other word, the core category C.Ct.4. positions in between the two conceptual sites C.S.1. and C.S.2. as it bridges C.Ct.1 and C.Ct.2 (see Figure 12). The use of French rap in the classroom can therefore be seen as a means to overcome the D.2. dichotomy as it tends to make the experience of REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis more like that of other school settings, and so more in line with the ideal completion of the French Republican School's missions.

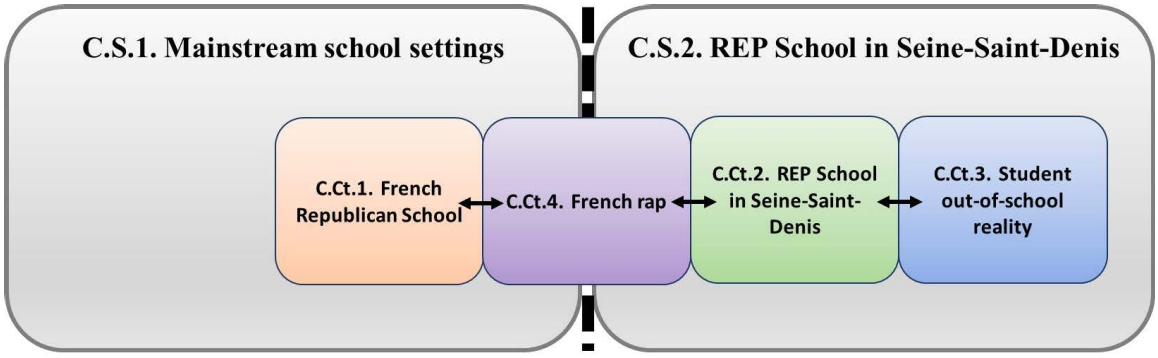


Figure 12 *Positioning C.Ct.4. within the framework of D.1.*

Figure 11 and Figure 12 provide representations of the relationships between core categories, including C.Ct.4., within their respective dichotomy frameworks. However, those representations of the relationships between core categories in Figure 11 and Figure 12 are only relevant within the context of their respective dichotomies. For instance, while Figure 12 does expose the fact that C.Ct.4 acts as a bridge between C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.2., yet this structure of representation fails to reveal the direct relationships between C.Ct.4. and C.Ct.3. – which notably appear on Figure 10. Figure 13 offers a more general and accurate representation of the core categories' relationships. While it displays C.Ct.4.'s direct relationships with all other core categories, it constitutes a framework within which the dichotomies D.1. and D.2. can still be drawn, with C.Ct.4. necessarily remaining in-between opposing conceptual sites.

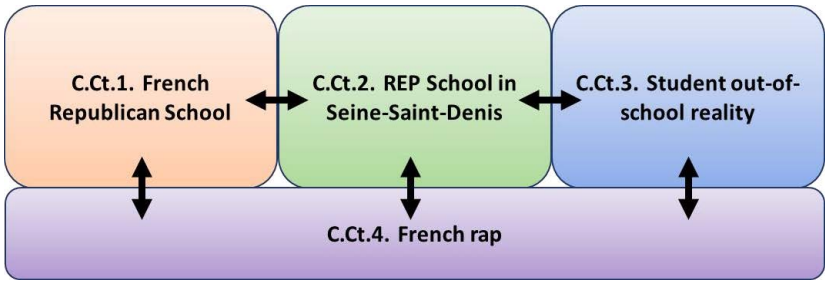


Figure 13 *Representation of core categories' relationships*

5. REVISING THE THEORY

This chapter consist of revising the initial emerging theory through the use of extant literature. The purpose of this process is to encompass the emerging theory within existing concept, theories, and/or academic discussions. CGT provides two tools in order to complete this process: theory up-scaling, and theoretical coding. While theory up-scaling consists of introducing extant literature to the research, theoretical coding corresponds to the comparison of the concepts and theories found in this literature to the data and the results of data analysis – in other words, the initial emerging theory.

This first two sections of this chapter respectively describe the processes of theory up-scaling and theoretical coding according to the CGT method. The following section explains how those processes are applied in this research. The detail of the review of extant literature and its comparison with the data and initial emerging theory in order to generate theoretical codes is thoroughly depicted in the fifth section of this chapter. The final section concludes this chapter with a deduction of the theoretical underpinnings of the emerging theory based upon the literature review and its comparison with the data and theorising process. This phase supports the integration of the final emerging theory within existing academic discussions as it positions the emerging theory within academic fields and disciplines.

5.1. Theory up-scaling

Theory up-scaling consists of bridging features from existing theories to the emerging grounded theory (Urquhart, 2013; Qiqi, 2016, p.13). Its title derives from the fact that this process aims to broaden the scale of a newly emerging grounded theory by acknowledging existent knowledge and discussions in related fields or topics and embracing them as elements of comparison for data interpretation (Urquhart, 2013). The use of extant literature characterises Thornberg's Informed Grounded Theory which is defined by a GT research process and its final product including the use of a literature review (2012).

While Glaser and Strauss (1967) originally advocated against the researcher's familiarisation with and use of extant literature in GT, more recent GT developers, and especially constructivist

grounded theorists, argue that existing theories found in extant literature are relevant for generating new theories at any point of the research (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Kelle, 2005; Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010; Thornberg, 2012; Mitchell, 2014; Urquhart, 2013).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) justified the use of no literature review with two main reasons: "(a) to keep the researcher as free and open as possible to discover, and (b) to avoid contamination, e.g. forcing data into pre-existing concepts which distort or do not fit with data or have no relevance to the substantive area." (as cited in Thornberg, 2012, p.3). In response, the main argument in favour of the use of extant literature in GT is that existing knowledge and theories being relevant to the topic of inquiry cannot be ignored by the researcher (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Once again, the aim of GT is to generate new theories rather than testing, or even worse, recreating existing ones. In this sense, Bryant and Charmaz argue that a lack of literature review in GT may only reflect the researcher's ignorance of existing knowledge and debates in the field (2007, p.19). In short, "[there is] a difference between an open mind and empty head" (Dey, 1993, p. 63; as cited in Thornberg, 2012, p.9). Thus, in line with GT's pragmatic stance, GT researchers should be aware of the existing theoretical conversation in order to be equip with appropriate analytic tools to contribute to the development of the field (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p.19). Burton metaphorically puts it as "[a] dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant may see further than the giant himself" (Burton, 2007, p. 27; as cited in Thornberg, 2012, p.4).

Another argument against Glaser and Strauss's (1967) paradigm is that it denies researchers' capacity to treat data independently from extant literature while still taking advantage of their potential links (Thornberg, 2012, p.4). That risk of forcing data to fit into the existing theories is avoided by using the principle of theoretical agnosticism, meaning that existing theories should be treated sceptically and flexibly with no assumption that they necessarily apply to the situations and context one GT research focuses on (Thornberg, 2012). Thus, the literature review should be used as a comparative tool, or other instances of constant comparison. Theoretical pluralism, or the use of various extant theories that may contradict each other, is also recommended to ensure theoretical agnosticism, and provide the research with further analytical perspectives to interpret the data (Thornberg, 2012). Furthermore, due to the pragmatic and relativist nature of CGT, researchers select existing theories according to their relevance to the data – how well they fit within it – and not for their epistemological positions (Thornberg, 2012). The same way abduction allows the researcher not to "be restricted to theoretical orthodoxy but is prone to modify or elaborate extant concepts if he or she finds the need to do so in order to achieve a better fit and workability" (Thornberg, 2012, p.10).

Even when a first instance of extant literature is carefully selected, researchers will most likely still face the challenge of determining what literature to choose next and when the amount of extant literature is sufficient. This can be solved by applying the theoretical sampling strategy to the literature, until the point of theoretical saturation is reached (Thornberg, 2012).

5.2. Theoretical coding

Theoretical coding follows up or goes along with up-scaling theory and consists of the last phase of theorisation. While initial and focused coding solely derived directly from raw empirical data, theoretical codes are obtained thanks to the complement of new sources of analytic conceptualisation such as logics found in existing theories (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p.10). The final products of theoretical coding are abstract concepts or theoretical codes – the highest level of abstraction – that ultimately lead to the emerging grounded theory (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). The purpose of this process is to take part to existing academic discussions by directly comparing phenomena emerging from the data analysis to existing theories depicted though the theory up-scaling phase. In practice, the researcher applies "underlying logics that could be found in pre-existing theories" (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p. 10) to the data analysis. Additionally, this process allows to deduce the theoretical underpinnings the final emerging theory falls within, according to the existing concept, theories, or academic discussions it relates to, or as Thornberg and Charmaz put it:

> "Holton (2007: 283) defines theoretical coding as 'the identification and use of appropriate theoretical codes to achieve an integrated theoretical framework for the overall grounded theory'." (2014, p. 9)

The next section details the process of theory up-scaling and theoretical coding in this research.

5.3. Theoretical up-scaling and theoretical coding in this research

The results of theory up-scaling and theoretical coding are both presented under the same following section of this chapter. The reason for it is that those two processes have been realised

conjointly. Literature review on key issues and the related theoretical codes emerging from it are thus depicted successively, for the former is essential to make sense of the latter.

Unlike in other typical qualitative studies, the review of extant literature did not occur earlier in this research process since it is guided by the results of data analysis. In practice, I had no idea of what literature and theoretical underpinnings would be used before fully conducting the data analysis. To comply with the principle of theoretical agnosticism, existing theories are treated within the context of their respective studies. Furthermore, theoretical pluralism is ensured by the use of various authors presenting different perspectives on given concerns and sometimes even engaged in academic debates with each other. The articles featured in the following literature reviews have been selected according to their significance to academic discussions on the key concerns emerging from my data analysis. The theory up-scaling in this research is thus divided in three parts:

- (1) French rap
- (2) Priority education policies in France
- (3) Third space theory

The first part draws on the third element of the emerging theory as it looks at literature on French rap in light of its relation to French cultural traditions (as discussed in Ct.7.). The aim of this approach is to identify existing theories relating to its universalistic trend – which so far seems to justify how C.Ct.4. positions in between the opposite conceptual sites of D.1. and D.2.

The second part focuses on the priority education policies in France as it intends to shed light on the science behind the first two elements of the initial emerging theory – namely (1) the opposition between the REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis and other school settings sites (D.1.), and (2) between the School's norms of socialisation and students with social lag (D.2.). While the REP School policy was already introduced in the *Research sites* section of the first chapter of this research, this first approach to the concept provided a factual definition of it for it was based on official governmental documents. The manner French priority education policy is dealt with in the theory up-scaling phase is fundamentally contrasting the factual depiction of it with this time a more conceptual and theoretical approach to the concept. Indeed, the purpose of this part of the literature review is not to provide another definition of the REP School, but rather to understand how researchers deal with this concept and to what academic theories and discussions it relates and/or belongs to.

The third and last part of the theory up-scaling process builds upon a theory that is at the crossroads of the first two parts and seems to logically connect to all elements of the emerging

theory. The selection of literature featured in this part is the result of the application of theoretical sampling. Indeed, the focus of this last part draws from a theory that is mentioned in the literature used for the first part of the theory up-scaling. Comparison with the second part of it as well as with my emerging theory confirmed its relevance.

Theoretical coding in this research consists of revising the initial emerging theory in light of existing concepts and theories encountered through the literature. This implies a comparisons of those concepts with the emerging theory itself, involving all kinds of elements composing it, namely: raw data, initial codes, categories, core categories, and the identified dichotomies D.1. and D.2. The theoretical coding phase in this research results in 9 theoretical codes (T.C.*n*.) divided in three parts, in accordance with the respective themes of the literature each part draws on: French rap, the REP School, and third space.

5.4. Reviewing extant literature and generating theoretical codes

This section details the review of extant literature and the generation of theoretical codes. Each existing concept, theory, or discussion from the literature is presented through a comparison of different authors' perspective on a key issue before a description of the theoretical codes they relate to.

5.4.1. French rap

Cultural tensions

The development of rap in France appears to be related to the late-20th century post-colonial migration. Béru (2008) and Abogo (2016) explain that a majority of France's first rappers were Black and Maghrebin youth with a migrant background (understood here as belonging to the first- or second-generation post-colonial migrants). Both authors also use this claims as an argument to state that French rap is consequently a post-colonial culture. However, migrants are not the only ones concerned with French rap since the low socio-economic status youth dwelling in disadvantaged suburban neighbourhoods also contribute to the emergence and development of the genre. In these terms, Pecqueux (2009) not only sees French rap as indeed "a migrants' matter" but also as "the matter of the culturally and/or socially uprooted ones" (p. 18,

as cited in Ghio, 2010, p. 1). Béru (2008) himself stated that along with post-colonial migrant youth, cités youth were among the first rappers in France, while Abogo explains that the post-colonial migrant youth represented the majority of cités dwellers (2016). In fact, the definition of 'migrant' intertwines with the one of low socio-economic status in this context. Ghio (2012) defines 'migrant' as a "social category" (p. 32) as she explains that post-colonial migrations led to "social conflicts" (p. 33) in France. Those social conflicts include cultural tensions migrants and low socio-economic status cités dwellers are subject to, consequently having an impact on the reception of French rap by other social spheres (Ghio, 2012; Béru, 2008). It is according to Ghio's definition (2012) that the term 'migrant' is used in the remainder of this section, assuming that French rap takes its roots as a post-colonial culture. One should note though that the post-colonial roots of French rap does not mean the genre only concern migrants or is solely limited to that defined social category as it is detailed later in this section.

The abovementioned cultural tensions typically translate into phenomena of alterity, particularism, and marginalisation of cultural practices. According to Béru (2008) sociocultural products that do not fall within the standards of the dominant culture's framework – such as rap – can be rejected and marginalised for they are qualified as incompatible with French values (p. 63). Ghio theorises these cultural tensions as a dichotomy opposing "the so-called 'pure' French [to] rappers' immigration background" (2012, p. 230-231). According to these two authors, it appears that post-colonial or 'migrant' cultural practices undergo a marginalisation from dominant cultural spheres in France. Although Béru's and Ghio's claims here are sociological assumptions and may not act as systematic rules, those phenomena can be observed within the reception of rap music in France.

It appears in several studies that French media treat French rap differently from other cultural productions. Thereupon, Carinos and Hammou (2017) explain that rap is typically depicted by both the French media and academia as an exotic sociocultural product, implying that rap does is a culture that belongs to 'the other' (p. 2). Providing another instance of this process of alterity, Hammou analyses the media coverage of rap music in France and concludes that rap is most often presented as a de facto "non-white" culture (2013, p. 3), while he also argues in the same article that this representation is only stereotypical since White French have always been represented among French rap practitioners and listeners. Similarly, Pecqueux (2005; 2009), Ghio (2012), Hammou (2015), and Carinos and Hammou (2017) suggest not to rely on the usual media and academic representation of French rap as a purely suburban culture. While Hammou

(2015) notes that this representation of French rap is often taken for granted and tends to come with no evidence nor justifications, Pecqueux invites analysts to avoid falling into the trap of alterity and rather advises to first consider rap as a French song tradition regardless of its socio-ocultural environment of production, partly because the consumption of rap goes beyond low socio-economic settings and concerns all social and cultural spheres of society (2005; 2009). This marginalising treatment of rap music is theorised by Carinos and Hammou as a "presumed dichotomy between intellectual and popular" (2017, p. 4) in which cultural productions rooted in popular traditions are seen as intellectually inconsistent. Carinos and Hammou regret that this dichotomy falsely restricts the definition of French rap to a suburban folk art, belonging to a marginalised community and unreachable for others (2017, p. 4). Overall, these authors reveal that the mainstream representation of French rap typically conveyed by mass media, and to some extent by the academia, depicts it as a culture made by and for a specific social category. Ultimately, this 'othering' process pushes French rap to the margins of the dominant cultural spheres, establishing boundaries between dominant and migrant/popular cultural products.

Besides that marginalisation of rap music, Ghio (2012) argues that cultural tensions are crystallised by the fact that the dominant cultural standards, or the "legitimate culture in France" (p. 284) as she puts it, is made inaccessible to marginalised social categories, including migrants. This argument builds upon Hoggart's (1957) and Bourdieu's (1979) sociological theories. While the former states that cultural and habitus differentials constitute boundaries separating the dominant class from the lower-class (including migrants according to Ghio's definition), Bourdieu observes in the latter how the French School tends to reproduce social inequalities as it fails to create social links between those two social categories (Ghio, 2012). Ghio (2012) insists on the alleged fact that the French Republican School "does not ensure access to the job market, nor does it facilitate access to the [dominant] national culture" (p. 291). That type of cultural tension only seems to relate to French rap as it can provide a framework to understand the marginalisation of the genre that is described in the previous paragraph.

T.C.1. Socio-cultural tensions:

Considering that French rap is identified as a postcolonial culture (Béru, 2008; Abogo, 2016), the reported significance of French rap in students' out-of-school environment (I.C.15.) appears to be explained by the fact that Seine-Saint-Denis has a greater share of postcolonial migrants

among its population than other French departments (Assemblée national, I.C.13.). Pushing this analysis further we can notice that French rap is described as a culture rooted in the exclusion from the dominant social and cultural spheres of the population with a low socio-economic status and migrants – according to Ghio's definition of migrant (2012) – (Pecqueux, 2005 ; 2009 ; Ghio, 2010 ; 2012 ; Béru, 2008 ; Carinos & Hammou, 2017 ; Hammou, 2013 ; 2015). Participants address the same kind of social and cultural exclusion concerning their students due to their place of residency, socio-economic status, and migration background (I.C.17.). A first theoretical code draws out of this comparison between data and literature: T.C.1. Socio-cultural tension.

Cultural integration and integration by the culture

While the treatment French of rap music by media and the academia seems to reveal existing cultural tensions in France, the genre also appears to construct as a means to fix overcome those tensions, notably through the deconstruction of the cultural boundaries responsible for the previously mentioned dichotomy separating the dominant from the popular. Indeed, migrants and lower-class youth also make use of French rap for socio-cultural integration in the sense of appropriation of the dominant culture. Ghio qualifies the practice of rap in France as a "literary emergency" (2010, p. 1) from the migrant and marginalised youth keen to connect their home culture to the French dominant ones and become part of these French cultural traditions (2010; 2012). She further argues that French rap represents a "cultural resistance" (Ghio, 2012, p. 54) from migrant youth aiming at "integration and cultural fusion" (p. 54). Rap appears here to be a means for culturally uprooted youth to integrate the French dominant – or legitimate – cultural spaces, and this translates into different processes:

The first of these processes corresponds to the choice of language. As Ghio explains, rap can constitute "a gateway to the language" (2012, p. 249). Indeed, in her analyses of rap songs she observes linguistic variations in the language of rap in which 'Français contemporain des cités' (cités contemporary French – a set of vernacular French dialects originally spoken in cités) and more formal language registers are intertwined, referring to this phenomenon of "linguistic decentralisation" (Ghio, 2012, p. 219). Linguistic decentralisation consists of a linguistic journey across different socio-cultural spheres, with the appropriation by a group of elements of language that supposedly do not belong to their socio-cultural setting (Ghio, 2012). According to Ghio (2012), this linguistic phenomenon reveals a will from migrant and marginalised youth to

appropriate dominant uses of the French language. Fayolle and Masson-Floch confirm that claim and add that this phenomenon also "reflects […] this cultural and social plurality" (Auzanneau, Bento, Fayolle, 2002, p. 70 as cited in Fayolle & Masson-Floch, 2002, p.81) that was previously mentioned. In the same line, Ghio (2012) argues that the choice of French language for French rap reveals that this language is used as a factor of unity and not of colonial domination. Indeed, the French language acts as a "federating poetic element" (Béthune, 1999, p. 187, as cited in Ghio, 2012, p. 220) uniting French rappers from different cultural backgrounds, and so bridging different socio-cultural spheres of the French society as demonstrated with linguistic decentralisation (Ghio, 2012, p. 245). Overall, those linguistic strategies create opportunities for the migrant and lower-class youth to appropriate dominant cultural codes through the prism of language register diversity.

As another instance of rap constituting a means for migrants to appropriate dominant cultural codes, authors defend the argument that French rap carries on French literary and musical traditions and therefore is part of the French cultural continuity. Pecqueux (2005), Abogo (2016), and Ghio (2012) emphasise on the fact that French rap is more related to and influenced by French literary traditions than by American rap. A reason for this claim is that French rap builds upon what Pecqueux refers to as a "cultural breeding ground" (2005, p. 214), or a "common body of what we can call the 'Belles Lettres' [that expression can be understood as the classic French literature, including its poetry and lyrical songs]" (Béthune, 1999, p. 215, as cited in Ghio, 2012, p. 367 & Abogo, unpublished, p. 9). Ghio pushes the argument even further and claims that French rap evolves from a "library culture" (2012, p. 367) as she insists on the fact that rappers find inspiration in and are influences by literary traditions and classic texts they encountered at the French Republican School.

The fact that French classic literature influences French rap does not yet justify how the genre can represent a continuity of the French literary tradition. To shed light on that concern, Ghio claims that some themes among the most recurring ones of French rap songs, namely the "rejection of the police institution" (2012, p. 137) and "the accusation of political practices and of the state's institutions as a whole" (p. 149), are in fact part of the French song heritage, being itself part of the broader French literary tradition. While Ghio (2012) analyses illustrates how French rap related to that French literary tradition in terms of content, Pecqueux provides two analytic tools to "establish the [stylistic] links between cultural practices using the language as a key resource" (2005, p. 215):

The first of these tools is known as “intertextuality” (Pecqueux, 2005, p. 214) that is defined by the fact that the interpretation of a new text builds upon previous ones (Pecqueux, 2005. p. 316). In practice, intertextuality can translate into various practices. Any reference in one text to another constitutes an instance of intertextuality, from quoting an artist’s name to continuing or even parodying an existing text (Pecqueux, 2005, p. 215). According to Pecqueux’s (2005) and Ghio’s (2012) analyses, intertextuality is quasi-systematic in French rap songs, translating into connections to other French rap songs, French songs from before the emergence of French rap, and French literature. Carinos and Hammou (2017) relate the process of intertextuality to one of the most common practice in rap: the sampling. Sampling consists of reusing a sample of existing musical production for creating a new one. Ghio considers the sampling of classic French songs by rappers as the establishment of a continuity in the cultural heritage (2012, p. 380), while Carinos and Hammou argue in the same line and even qualify the lyrical references to existing songs as “textual samplings” (2017, p. 6).

Ghio and Pecqueux demonstrate the continuity of the French literary tradition through French rap by using the analytic tool of intertextuality to define a new genre within the French song tradition: the “letters to the president” (2012, p. 149; 2005, p. 216). Both authors explain that this genre finds its first instance in 1954 with the song *Le Déserteur* by Boris Vian, later covered or referred to by other popular singers and finally more recently by several rappers (Ghio, 2012; Pecqueux, 2005). In this example, French rap proves to be part of the continuity of the French literary heritage as it contributes to the emergence of a new genre within the French song tradition.

Pecqueux’s second analytic tool for revealing the links between French rap and the overall French literary tradition is what he calls “interenunciativity” (2005, p. 214) which he defines as a similar process to intertextuality, the main difference being that this times the focus is on the vocal interpretation, or prosody, of the lyrical productions. Pecqueux’s (2005) main argument here is that the way French rappers from the 80’s and 90’s pronounce and decompose syllables matches the French songs tradition more than the American rap model. In more recent analyses, Ghio and Abogo defend that argument as they quote Béthune (1999) and suggest French rappers’ prosody is partly inspired by the classic 19th century French poets (2012, p. 367; 2016, p. 38). According to Pecqueux (2005), interenunciativity brings further evidence of rap being the continuity of the French literary heritage. Indeed, Pecqueux qualifies that prosody found in both

French rap and the French song as part of a "realistic tradition […] of interpretation" (2005, p. 322) as it realistically imitates the common spoken language.

Negotiation of the cultural dominance

Beyond merely providing a means to the migrant and lower-class youth to appropriate dominant cultural codes, French rap appears to even overcome domination within the cultural sphere. In this sense, Ghio explains that through the appropriation of dominant cultural codes, such as the language, migrant and marginalised youth take over a cultural space that is typically assumed to be foreign to them and so break away from the stereotypical expectation that their cultural habits will only relate to popular forms of culture (2012, p. 72). In line with Rancière's (1995) concept, Ghio defines this phenomenon as the establishment by the migrant and marginalised youth of "a new distribution of the sensible" (Rancière, 1995, p. 46, as cited in Ghio, 2012, p. 73). Rancière's (1995) distribution of the sensible consists of a shift in the balance of domination in which the marginalised social categories integrate political or cultural spheres they originally had been excluded from (Ghio, 2012, p. 72).

According to Ghio, one of the mechanisms behind this distribution of the sensible articulates around the fact that French rap constitutes a "mass culture" (2012, p. 263). The mass culture is a contemporary form of culture in which the consumption of cultural products redefines the relations between social categories (Ghio, 2012, p. 263). A first argument to argue that French rap is indeed a mass culture can be found in the analysis of the genre's consumption and popularity. Indeed, Carinos and Hammou (2017), Béru (2008), Abogo (2016), Pecqueux (2005), and Ghio (2012) all agree on the fact that the commercial success of French rap in France reveals that its consumers belong to all kinds of social and cultural categories. Along with that socio-cultural diversity among the French rap public, Pecqueux's (2005) study demonstrates that French rap is not an exclusively youth culture either as its listening appears to be intergenerational. In short, these authors justify the fact that French rap is a mass culture since the genre's consumption knows no social, cultural, or generational boundaries (Pecqueux, 2005; Ghio, 2012; Béru, 2008; Abogo, 2016; Carinos & Hammou, 2012), which one could already interpret as an enactment of the distribution of sensible.

Nevertheless, Ghio insists on the fact that although the consumption of rap goes beyond its social setting of emergence, this aspect "does not erase its predominant 'popular' prints" (2012,

p. 266). She further argues that the commercial success of French rap frees the speech on the expression of these popular traits to the point of making them part of a common culture being intelligible by all listeners regardless of their socio-cultural background (2012). Pecqueux also defends this argument stating that rap is a "sharable culture" (2005, p. 229). This alleged cultural hybridity of French rap leads to the second evidence stating the genre as a mass culture. Indeed, mass cultures are forms of hybrid cultures in which dominant and popular cultural elements coexist and intertwine (Ghio, 2012, p. 264). In this sense, Ghio (2012) argues that French rap is made of references to both the legitimate/dominant culture and popular cultural codes – one illustration of that claim among others is the previously mentioned linguistic decentralisation. This cultural hybridity can be observed in the writing style French rap constructs, being "at the crossroad of classical writing and conceptions of popular literature" (Ghio, 2010, p. 1). Just like with the diversity of French rap listeners, this typical phenomenon of cultural massification articulates within the logic of distribution of the sensible. Indeed, in accordance with Rancière's concept (1995), that consists of redefining the balance of domination within the cultural sphere (Ghio, 2012, p. 72), the establishment of a mass culture deconstructs the previously mentioned dichotomy separating the intellectual from the popular (Ghio, 2012). In this case, the cultural hybridity of French rap, or what makes it a "sharable culture" '(Pecqueux, 2005, p. 229), articulates the process of cultural massification that renders the distribution of sensible possible since French rap, as a mass culture, is located in-between dominant and popular cultures and is accessible to individuals belonging to any of those defined socio-cultural categories.

T.C.2. Appropriation of dominant cultural codes:

The depiction of French rap in this part of the literature review finds another connection with the data in the fact that the genre is described as a tool to overcome the inaccessibility of dominant cultural spheres (Abogo, 2016 ; Hammou, 2013 ; Ghio, 2010 ; 2012 ; Fayolle & Masson-Floch, 2002 ; Pecqueux, 2005) – inaccessibility which School is said to be partly responsible for (Bourdieu, 1979 ; Ghio, 2012). This French rap's concerns of penetrating into the dominant social and cultural spheres – or in other words enabling "a new distribution of the sensible" (Rancière, 1995, p. 46, as cited in Ghio, 2012, p. 73) – echoes with participants' description of their school's prior aim of socialisation of student (Ct.4.), and more specifically with teachers' ideal of teaching students to travel through society (I.C.12.). These identified commonalities

between French rap as described in the literature and the experience of participants found in the data lead to a new theoretical code: T.C.2. Appropriation of dominant cultural codes.

T.C.3. Hybridity:

Both the data and the literature present French rap as simultaneously having popular roots and being part of the French literary tradition, as assessed by Pecqueux's tools of intertextuality and interenunciativity (I.C.19. ; Pecqueux, 2005 ; Ghio, 2012 ; Abogo, 2016). Furthermore, the fact that French rap acts as a social, cultural and generation bridge (Ct.8.) translates into the literature's arguments that the genre now constitutes a mass culture (Ghio, 2012 ; Pecqueux, 2005). The concept of mass culture implies the hybridity of the culture that draws from different cultural spheres (Ghio, 2012 ; Pecqueux, 2005). This hybridity also constructs upon phenomena such as linguistic decentralisation (Ghio, 2012). A new theoretical code emerges from this observation: C.T.3 Hybridity.

Theoretical codes T.C.1. and T.C.2. reveal that French rap, as a cultural product, and participants in their context of schooling encounter similar cultural issues and apply comparable strategies to deal with it. The construction of the third theoretical code, T.C.3, implies that the definition of French rap, as a cultural product, is framed by the context in which the genre emerged and evolved (T.C.1. and T.C.2.), which draws a connection with the use of French rap in the classroom by participants, also framed by its context (T.C.1. and T.C.2.) as it appears in the first version of the theory.

5.4.2. Priority education policies in France

Republican model of integration and the aims of priority education policies

While Bertucci states that the French Republican School has a "vocation to create social ties" (2013, p.89), he , among other authors, also identifies more specific aims for the REP School. Two main strands of aims for priority education policies in France emerge through various articles, namely: reducing school achievement inequalities, and promoting a universal French

culture (Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004; Jaeggi, 2008; Rochex, Francia, Greger & Le Breton, 2011; Bertucci, 2013; Rochex, 2019). Indeed, Bertucci qualifies priority education as an "equal opportunities policy" (2013, p.82) aiming at ensuring that disadvantaged schools reach the same level of academic performance as more privileged ones. This principle is referred to as a logic of "democratisation of [academic] success" (Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004, p.135; Rochex, Francia, Greger & Le Breton, 2011, p. 250), which Bertucci illustrates arguing that the ultimate goal of the REP policy is to ensure that school achievement is not negatively affected by external socio-economic inequalities (2013, p.82). Nevertheless, this first goal of the REP School should be considered as a leading abstract principle that is only achievable through the more practical second goal of the REP School.

The second main aim of the French priority education policies highlighted in the selected articles is the creation of a "common culture" (Rochex, Francia, Greger & Le Breton, 2011, p. 252; Bertucci, 2013, p.89). This principle is rooted in the typical French "Republican model of [social] integration" (Bertucci, 2013, p.87; Oberti & Savina, 2019, p.4), which consists of the non-differentiation and equal treatment of all social and cultural traditions as they gather under common values of French citizenship (Bénichou, 2006). Bertucci (2013) and Oberti and Savina highlight the School institution as a fundamental cornerstone of the Republican model of integration since its principle is to guarantee "equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, ethnicity, social background, place of residence, or schooling" (2019, p.4). In these terms, the Republican model of integration articulates a specific approach to dealing with cultural diversity known as the "universalistic [tradition]" (Rochex, Francia, Greger & Le Breton, 2011, p. 263, Bertucci, 2013, p.87). Although none of these authors provide an explicit definition of what that common culture is, they all relate the concept to the typically French universal values and forms of citizenship that build upon the diversity of histories and cultural traditions of the country.

In their analysis and comparison of the various priority education policies in Europe, Rochex, Francia, Greger, and Le Breton (2011) conclude that countries adopting a universalistic tradition, such as France, envision a reduction of school and social inequalities through the creation and teaching of a common culture (p. 265). While they further argue that through creating a common culture REP School's purpose is to allow all students to get involved in collective actions (2011, p. 263), Bertucci interprets the creation of a common culture as a means to unify diverse citizens upon a common identity (2013, p.89). In other word, the underlying prin-

ciple of the common culture creation strategy is to correct the existing socio-cultural inequalities among students by allowing all to be part of and contribute to a universal form of citizenship that encompass diversities. These authors' perspectives thus reflect the idea that the creation and teaching of a common culture in REP schools represents an instrument of the Republican model of integration that is therefore rooted in universalism as well.

T.C.4. Republican universalism:

The French Republican School's prior mission of creating a universal French School culture (I.C.1.) described in the data builds upon a universalist tradition (Rochex, Francia, Greger & Le Breton, 2011, p. 263, Bertucci, 2013, p.87) and the French "Republican model of [social] integration" (Bertucci, 2013, p.87; Oberti & Savina, 2019, p.4). This national ideology constitutes a theoretical code for it dictates the School's key missions in general and thus significantly influences and shapes participants' experience of teaching: T.C.4. Republican universalism.

Cultural uprooting

However, the creation of a common culture is not a goal that is specific to the REP School. In fact it is a core principle of the overall French *Republican* School. Indeed, not only does Bertucci define the French School as an institution aiming at creating "social ties" (2013, p. 89) as mentioned earlier, he also describes it as "a space of unity and universality" (Charlot, 1992, p.349 as cited in Bertucci, 2013, p.89). Nevertheless, the creation of a common culture – along with its underlying Republic model of integration and universalistic tradition – is particularly emphasised in the REP School, hence its identification as a prior goal of the REP School. The reason for such an emphasis on that goal is what I will now refer to as the potentials cultural uprooting of REP students. The use of the term "cultural uprooting" here draws a connection with the previous section – (Pecqueux, 2009, p. 18, as cited in Ghio, 2010, p. 1). Indeed, although the term "cultural uprooting" is not cited as such in the selected articles used for the current section, however, this concept applies to cases introduced in this literature too.

In this case, cultural uprooting defines the fact that some students appear to be unfamiliar with the School's cultural codes, as the forms of socialisation they encounter at home may be different from the dominant ones that prevail at the French Republican School. For instance,

Bertucci (2013), Jaeggi (2008), and Kherroubi and Rochex (2004) explain that the languages or language registers spoken with the family may differ from the ones privileged by School. Consequently, students come to school unequally prepared to its norms of socialisation (Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004, p.138) that are nevertheless essential to master in order to learn school content. In this sense, Bertucci qualifies students' difference from the School in terms of norms of socialisation as a "socio-cultural handicap" (Bertucci, 2013, p.89). He (2013) and Jaeggi (2008) further explain that students have to first learn and appropriate the School's norms before being able to learn the course content (2013; 2008), which Kherroubi and Rochex phrase as "learning school to learn at school" (Chartier, 1992, as cited in 2004, p.137). Students' cultural uprooting constitutes sociocultural inequalities from which can arise school achievement inequalities between students and between schools – and so between REP and non-REP schools. On this note, Kherroubi and Rochex (2004) and Jaeggi (2008) insist on the fact that the culturally uprooted students find no barrier to academic success in the sole curricular content knowledge, their potential learning difficulties remain culturally rooted as they are due to unfamiliar norms of socialisation. Although cultural uprooting is also encountered in non-REP school, it remains a greater challenge for REP school teachers especially due to the school's social homogeneity and cultural diversity.

T.C.5. Peripheral School:

The creation of a common French School culture is especially emphasised in REP schools where cultural uprooting is allegedly more significant among students (I.C.11. ; Bertucci, 2013 ; Jaeggi, 2008 ; Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004). In the specific context of this study, cultural uprooting seems to be related to out-of-school contextual factors, considering that students dwell in disadvantage suburban neighbourhoods and that Seine-Saint-Denis demonstrate a higher share of migrants and population with lower socio-economic status than other French departments (C.Ct.3. Students' out-of-school reality; Assemblée National, 2018).

Comparing this data-based fact to the literature reveals that the previously used terminology REP School, or REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis, is not the most adequate for this specific study case. The notion of REP School does not necessarily imply the specific socio-spatial environment of participants' schools. In his 2019's research, Rochex studies the evolution of priority education policies through time with a focus on objectives and strategies. He specifies

that priority education policies are intended for areas with a low socio-economic status in various French territories: suburban disadvantaged neighbourhoods as well as rural areas among others (2019, p.14). However, in his 2016's study of the effectiveness and efficiency of priority education policies he draws a more significant focus on the public of REP schools and relate the schools' difficulties to specific factors: students' socio-economic status, migration background, and "popular urban neighbourhoods" (p.93). Jaeggi (2008) and Oberti and Savina (2019) similarly deal with respectively ZEP (Zones d'éducation prioritaire – Priority education zones, former terminology used for current REP schools) and REP schools in light of these three factors. Demonstrating an even greater consideration of those factors, Bertucci's study (2013) specifically focuses on major cities' suburban schools. In order to emphasise on "the central role of local contexts in the structuration of the educational activity" (Van Zanten, 2001, p. 2; as cited in Bertucci, 2013, p. 80), she draws on Van Zanten's framework of "peripheral School" (2001, as cited in Bertucci, 2013, p. 80):

> "The notion of "peripheral School" refers to a specific location of the schooling institution outside of major cities; it thus opposes to the one of the city centre or rural school. […] The study of relations between the school and the local space and more specifically, between the institution and disadvantaged neighbourhoods located on the margin of major cities, must commence under the dynamic angle" (Van Zanten, 2001, p. 3; as cited in Bertucci, 2013, p. 80).

Therefore, the peripheral School encompasses the aforementioned approaches by Rochex (2016), Jaeggi (2008), and Oberti and Savina (2019) to the study of priority education. Indeed, all these papers feature a depiction of schools in disadvantaged suburban neighbourhoods in regards of "local contexts" (Van Zanten, 2001, p. 2; as cited in Bertucci, 2013, p. 80) – translating here into students' socio-economic status and migration background. In our study case, considering students' out-of-school reality (C.Ct.3.), the peripheral School provides a more adequate framework to deal with participants' schools as it also goes along the theoretical code T.C.1. It thus represents a new theoretical code: T.C.5. Peripheral School.

Compensating the socialisation lag: contradiction between teaching content knowledge and student socialisation

The two main aims of the REP School presented in these articles are interrelated. Indeed, the strategy of REP policies to reduce school and social inequalities consists of democratising school success to all students, which implies the creation of a common culture – a strategy that is rooted in the Republican model of integration and the universalistic tradition. Therefore, REP School's prior mission is to allow all its students to appropriate that common culture, hence the emphasis on the socialisation of culturally uprooted students according to School's norms – the mastering of these norms being necessary to academic success. Several authors qualify such a logic as a "compensatory strategy" (Jaeggi, 2008, p. 3; Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004, p. 148; Rochex, Francia, Greger & Le Breton, 2011, p. 270; Rochex, 2016, p.95; 2019, p.14). As Jaeggi and Bertucci describe it, the principle of such as strategy is to reduce school inequalities by compensating culturally uprooted students' "socio-cultural handicap" (2008, p. 3; 2013, p. 89). Thus, since the reducing-inequalities goal of the REP School depends on its capacity to create and teach a common culture, socialisation of students represents a significant dimension of the REP teacher's job.

In practice, REP teachers experience the contradiction between teaching content knowledge and socialisation of the culturally uprooted students (Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004; Butlen, Peltier-Barbier & Pézard, 2002). Indeed, according to Butlen, Peltier-Barbier, and Pézard (2002), REP teachers typically consider socialisation of students and teaching the course content as two different activities that are realised separately – the achievement of the former being necessary prior starting dealing with the latter. Jaeggi (2008) qualifies this argument stating that both can be realised together, although he specifies that the socialisation dimension has nevertheless a significant impact on the time spent learning the course content. In either perspective, the time spent on socialisation competes with the pure teaching of the course content (Butlen, Peltier-Barbier & Pézard, 2002; Kherroubi and Rochex, 2004, Jaeggi, 2008). Providing examples of this issue, Kherroubi and Rochex (2004) emphasise on the time teachers typically spend dealing with discipline issues instead of teaching the course content, while Jaeggi (2008) focuses on the necessity to first ensure students can appropriate the formal codes of school, especially the language. Overall, Kherroubi and Rochex (2004), Jaeggi (2008), and Rochex, Francia, Greger and Le Breton (2011) observe that REP teachers often need to reduce the time teaching the course content in order to work on students' socialisation, potentially to the point of no longer seeing the learning of the teaching of content knowledge as a priority. According to Butlen, Peltier-Barbier & Pézard (2002), and Rochex, Francia, Greger and Le Breton (2011), this particular situation reinforces learning inequalities between REP and non-REP schools as it can

force teachers to lower their expectations in terms of students' knowledge of the course content and academic achievement.

This predominant significance of students' socialisation in REP schools is highlighted by Kherroubi and Rochex who claim that the appropriation of the school norms by the students "is no longer a starting point of the school situation but one of its goals" (Barrère, 2002, as cited in 2004, p. 174). Due to this shift in their perception of the leading goals of school, REP teachers develop their own specific working ethos, which Butlen, Pelter-Barbier and Pézard refer to as "the manifestation of a specific habitus to REP schools" (2002, p. 50), which finds an echo in Kherroubi and Rochex's identification of a "distinct professional culture" (2004, p. 177) in the work of REP teachers in terms of practice and ethics. Those authors find justifications to their claims in the fact that REP teachers typically have the resentment to be required to "occupy a double function of [social] educator and teacher" (Butlen, Peltier-Barbier & Pézard, 2002, p. 44). In practice, this notably translates into teachers' need to develop more significant relational skills to communicate with the pupils than in non-REP schools (Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004, p. 177). In other words, the previously mentioned specificities of the REP School – in terms of core aims - reflect in and impact on REP teachers' contextual pedagogical adaptations, to some extent even justifying their perception of their job as different from teaching in a non-REP school.

T.C.6. Dichotomy: Peripheral School–Other school settings:

Comparing the literature to the data changes the status of the dichotomies D.1. and D.2. as it turns them into theoretical codes:

Throughout the core category C.Ct.2., and especially in the initial code I.C.3., participants describe "the manifestation of a specific habitus to REP schools" (Butlen, Pelter-Barbier & Pézard, 2002, p. 50), or in other words a "distinct professional culture" (Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004, p. 177) in the peripheral School. This corresponds to the embodiment of the dichotomy D.1., now developing a theoretical code: T.C.6. Dichotomy: Peripheral School-Other school settings.

T.C.7. Dichotomy: School's norms of socialisation–Culturally uprooted students:

Similarly to T.C.6, the category Ct.4. describes how the appropriation of the school norms by the students in the peripheral School "is no longer a starting point of the school situation but one of its goals" (Barrère, 2002, as cited in Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004, p. 174). In response to socialisation lag (I.C.11.), the peripheral School thus applying a "compensatory strategy" (Jaeggi, 2008) as it prioritises the appropriation of dominant cultural codes (Ct.4.; T.C.2.). This phenomenon corresponds to the dichotomy D.2. which generates a new theoretical code that encompasses the contradiction between socialising students and teaching the content knowledge (Kherroubi & Rochex, 2004; Butlen, Peltier-Barbier & Pézard, 2002): T.C.7. Dichotomy: School's norms of socialisation–Culturally uprooted students.

5.4.3. Third space theory

I now draw the attention on the theoretical relations between two statements that can be made by taking into consideration the various information provided by the data analysis and the literature reviews: while on one hand REP teachers emphasise on the need to bridge in- and out-of-school knowledge (I.C.9.), in order to both socialise students and teach the content knowledge (Ct.4., T.C.7.), on the other hand we have seen that French rap can be considered as a hybrid culture for it can be conceptually located in-between dominant and popular cultures (T.C.3.). In her analysis of Hip Hop culture and rap music in France, Abogo draws upon a postcolonial theory within which these two aforementioned phenomena – respectively of teachers' bridging different knowledges, and the hybridity of a culture – can be encompassed: the "Third space" theory (unpublished, p. 10).

Third space and postcolonial studies

At its most basic definition, the third space is theorised as a "hybrid" cultural space (Abogo, unpublished, p. 10; Moje et al., 2004, p. 42). In this line, Kaya defines the third space as the mix of "different cultural traditions, sources and discourses" (2007, p. 70). Another way to define the concept is to consider it as a space located "in-between" (Moje et al., 2004, p.42; Pahl & Rowsell, 2012, p. 65) the conceptual first and second spaces (see Figure 14). Those spaces are abstract and may represent different concepts and at different scales. For instance, Moje et al. refers to "knowledges and Discourses" emanating from informal contexts – "home,

community, and peer network" – as the first space in opposition to the second space of "formalized institutions such as work, school, or church" (2004, p.41). In a more concrete illustration of the concept, Pahl and Rowsell refer to prisoners' experience considering the prison as one conceptual space – may it be arbitrarily the first or second space – and "the outside world" as separate one (2012, p. 65).

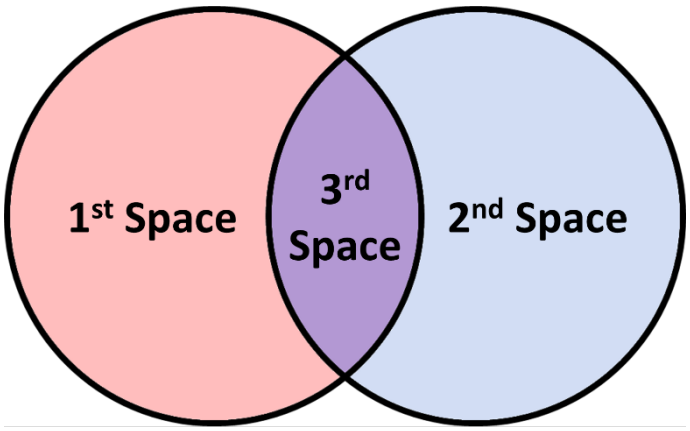


Figure 14 *Conceptual representation of the third space*

The concept of third space is a direct response to the binary opposition between the first and second conceptual spaces, hence its location in-between those two. According to Moje et al., the third space implies a new perception of "knowledges and Discourses" in which the first and second space are no longer considered as opposing each other (Moje et al., 2004, p. 42). Kaya phrases the same notion by defining the third space as a conceptual emancipation from "dichotomies" rooted in "Cartesian duality" (2007, p. 70). Abogo explains that the third space theory is encompassed within scope of the postcolonial studies, which justifies its fundamental rejection of binary oppositions a part of the postcolonial studies' tradition of deconstruction of dominant Western paradigms and hegemony (unpublished, p. 10). To summarise, the third space emanates from the tradition of postcolonial studies as the hybrid space positioned in-between two defined conceptual spaces that are primarily assumed to be opposing one another. The hybrid nature of the third space – understood as drawing from both the first and second spaces – makes it a form of rejection of that opposition, allegedly being rooted in Western binary perspective.

T.C.8. French rap as a third space:

The third space is theorised as a hybrid cultural space (Abogo, unpublished, p. 10; Moje et al., 2004, p. 42) located in-between the first and second conceptual spaces (Moje et al., 2004, p.42; Pahl & Rowsell, 2012, p. 65). French rap, as a cultural product, can be interpreted as an instance of third space due to its cultural hybridity (T.C.3.). The fact that French rap (C.Ct.4.) moves beyond dichotomies D.1. and D.2. as it positions in-between and draws on both their respective conceptual sites also support the argument stating French rap as a third space. Indeed, third spaces are defined by their 'in-betweenness' and the fact that they overcome dichotomies (Kaya, 2007). This observation thus draws a new theoretical code: T.C.8. French rap as a third space.

Third space in education

The third space theory is also used in the education field, which is the focus of articles by Moje et al. (2004), Cook (2005), Skerrett (2010) and Pahl and Rowsell (2012). All these authors apply the same previously mentioned representation of third space as a conceptual space located in-between the first and second spaces, in this case translating into "in- and out-of-school" practices (Moje et al., 2004, p. 41; Skerrett, 2010, p. 68; Pahl & Rowsell, 2012, p. 91) or, in Cook's words, "between home and school" experiences (2005, p. 85). For example, Moje et al. and Skerrett refer to the different forms of students' "literacies" (2004, p. 42; 2010, p. 68) – in- and out-of-school literacies – or "multiliteracies (2010, p. 68) as an interpretation of those conceptual spaces. Similarly, Cook conceptualises the third space as a "continuum of text construction between home and school" (2005, p. 85), while Pahl and Rowsell define it in a more abstract and general manner as the process of "children's meaningmaking" (2012, p. 66) of the knowledge and content areas encountered at school. Thus, appropriating the terms by Moje et al. cited in the previous section, the third space in education represents the hybrid "knowledges and Discourses" drawing from both the "formalized institution" that School is and out-of-school "informal contexts" (2004, p. 41).

Demonstrating a more specific focus on the aims and strategies lying behind the use of third space in the classroom, Moje et al. (2004) propose three distinct conceptual lenses/angles for understanding/approaching/analysing the third space in education, which Cook summarises in her article:

> "Moje et al. (2004, pp. 45–46) identify three ways in which third spaces are currently conceptualised in education: as bridge building between marginalised and conventional knowledges and discourses; as 'navigational' spaces enabling students to bring 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al., 1992) from home to bear on school learning; and as a place where the integration of knowledge and discourses from home and school will produce new forms of learning" (2005, p. 85)

Moje et al. (2004) also specify that these three ways to consider the third space in education can act as analytic tools to evaluate the outcomes of introducing the third space into the classroom.

While these definitions provide information about how the third space is conceptualised in education, they do not inform on how the third space takes shape in the classroom. Cook sheds light on the phenomenon as she explains that in practice the articulation of the third space can occur in three different ways: (1) conceptually, when teaching practices draw from students' out-of-school knowledge; (2) linguistically, like in the case of students' informal language practices entering the formal classroom space; (3) physically, if physical material representing the knowledge and discourse belonging to one space travels to the other – students bringing their books they read at home to school for instance – (2005, p. 85). Additionally, Moje et al. (2004) and Skerrett (2010) specify that in all cases the third space is to be considered as something that is co-constructed by teachers and students together when their practices travel across conceptual spaces, or when the first and second spaces "intersect" (Skerrett, 2010, p. 67) and blend together (Moje et al., 2004, p. 41). The scope of what may constitute a third space in the classroom is thus broad and the concept may apply to various teachers' and/or students' practices as long as they imply a "boundary crossing" (Skerrett, 2010, p. 69) of conceptual spaces.

T.C.9. Bridge building:

French rap's consumption and production is set beyond social, cultural, and generation boundaries (Ct.8., T.C.3.). This argument goes in line with Kaya's perspective of third space allowing to move beyond dichotomies (2007), or in other words as a "bridge building" (Moje et al. 2004, p. 45–46, as cited in Cook, 2005). French rap can thus be perceived as bridge building between different spheres.

This bridge-building attribute also applies to third space in the classroom. Indeed, in education, the third space refers to "between home and school" experiences (Cook, 2005, p. 85) which corresponds to one of the pedagogical strategies participants typically adopt (I.C.9.).

More precisely, Moje identifies three versions of third space in the classroom. Among them:

(1) "as bridge building between marginalised and conventional knowledges and discourses" (Cook, 2005, p. 85).

(2) "as 'navigational' spaces enabling students to bring 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al., 1992) from home to bear on school learning" (Cook, 2005, p. 85).

Comparing these concepts to the data, while Moje's first version of third space corresponds to the specific use of French rap in the classroom participants make that allows them to connect students' personal interest in the genre to the content knowledge (I.C.9. ; I.C.24.), both versions relate to participants' will of socialising students (Ct.4.; I.C.12.) and so to introduce them to dominant cultural spheres (T.C.2.). Such an approach constitutes a use of French rap's third space attributes (T.C.8.) in order to move beyond the dichotomy D.2. (T.C.7.) by bridging the two separate conceptual sites. A new theoretical codes emerges from these observations resulting in the interpretation of French rap, and the use of French rap in the class room, as an instance of bridge building: T.C.9. Bridge building.

I now have 9 theoretical codes that will facilitate the integration of my emerging theory to existing academic discussions. The final theory can now be built by integrating these theoretical codes to the initial emerging theory.

5.5. Positioning the theory

As previously mentioned, the pragmatic and relativist essence of CGT implies that the theories featured in the theory up-scaling phase are selected for their relevance to the research rather than for their epistemological stances (Thornberg, 2012). The theoretical underpinnings in this study are thus deduced according to the literature review that is itself guided by the data. The purpose of drawing theoretical underpinnings at this point of the research process is to help position the emerging theory within the scope of existing academic disciplines. This process

thus supports the pragmatism approach of CGT as it helps reveal to which academic discussion the emerging theory can contribute. In this section I explain how this study finds its foundations in sociology, cultural studies, and philosophy.

5.5.1. Sociology of knowledge and cultural studies: socio-cultural contexts and power structures

Participants find a justification to their use of French rap in class in relation to two main aspects: their understanding of French rap, including how it relates to School, and their experience of teaching in particular school settings. Both of those are presented in relation to the socio-cultural context they articulate within and appear to be impacted by power structures, according to the data and literature reviews. Therefore, my study must have foundations in the study of how socio-cultural context and power structures can impact on cultural practices such as French rap and formal institutions like School.

While sociology is a foundational science that studies the human behaviour within social structures, the sociology of knowledge focuses more specifically on the relationship between knowledges, systems of domination, and socio-cultural contexts. Thus, this study partly draws from the sociology of knowledge for it looks at participants' experience of teaching in a REP School in relation to the socio-cultural status of its student population and the surrounding environment. Part of this work consist of analysing the nature of the knowledge taught by participants, still in the light of socio-cultural contexts, and with a special focus on power structures. In this line, the micro-level experience of participants described throughout the data is compared to the macro-level processes – sociological theories – depicted in the literature. This analysis is thus in compliance with Skerrett's definition of the sociology of knowledge which she says "[has] critiqued hegemonic societal power structures in which dominant groups determine what will count as appropriate school knowledge and normalize a hierarchical pedagogical relationship between teachers and students" (2010, p. 67).

The definitions of French rap participants provide me during the interviews are related to and influenced by their use of the genre in the classroom as a teaching tool. Indeed, defining a cultural genre, or in that case even potentially a culture, can be difficult and controversial. French rap has no sole definition, and its terms are still debated within the academia, among other sites of discussion. Additionally, the aim of this research is not to define French rap as

such. Therefore, I start from the premise that my participants provide me definitions of French rap that are limited compared to their actual understanding of the genre and thus framed by the context of our interactions – focusing on their use of French rap as a teaching tool in REP middle schools in Seine-Saint-Denis. Consequently, the approach of this study to understanding French rap logically relates to the analysis of participants' experience of teaching in specific school settings, and so to its sociological lens – the sociology of knowledge.

Thus, French rap is analysed in light of its related socio-cultural tensions and related power structures, in the same way the sociology of knowledge allows to consider the experience of teachers in specific school settings in connection to socio-cultural contexts. Such an approach to the study of a cultural practice corresponds to the theoretical field of cultural studies. Cultural studies shares with the sociology of knowledge the study of systems of domination, with the particularity of focusing on cultural practices in relation to the socio-cultural environments in which they articulate (Sardar, 2015). In this sense, among the mains aims of Cultural studies that Sardar identifies he exposes: "Cultural studies aims to examine its subject matter in terms of cultural practices and their relation to power. Its constant goal is to expose power relationships and examine how these relationships influence and shape cultural practices", and: "Cultural studies is not simply the study of culture as though it was a discrete entity divorced from its social or political context. Its objective is to understand culture in all its complex forms and to analyse the social and political context within which it manifests itself" (2015, p. 18). The analysis of French rap in this study thus logically finds foundations in cultural studies as this field remains close to the sociology of knowledge – in its focus on socio-cultural context and power structures – while being more appropriated to the study of cultural practices. Both the data and literature reviews indeed demonstrate a consideration of French rap in relation to socio-cultural contexts and power structures.

This approach in which the sociology of knowledge and Cultural studies merge together allows me to logically connect the analysis of French rap to the one of participants' particular school settings. It thus serves the purpose of that study being to make sense of participants use of French rap as a pedagogical tool in their specific school context.

5.5.2. Postcolonialism

As a logical continuation of the study of French rap in light of its socio-cultural context and related systems of dominations, previous featured analyses of this study try to locate French rap within the French cultural tradition. As a conclusion to this, French rap is here qualified as a hybrid culture located in-between and drawing from different cultural sites – popular and dominant cultural spheres. In the same manner, participants' uses of French rap in the classroom are understood here as practices positioned in-between and drawing from different sites of knowledge – in- and out-of-school. These specific notions of hybridity and 'in-betweenness' that emerge from my analyses derive from the scope of postcolonial studies.

Postcolonialism is an approach that can be encompassed within both sociology, and thus the sociology of knowledge, and cultural studies. According to Abogo, "postcolonial studies are fundamentally based on the premise that a cultural universe that resists the use of ordinary comprehensive-scientific categories exists" (Chivallon, 2007, p. 7, as cited in, unpublished, p. 10). This study finds foundations in postcolonialism as it draws from postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha's concepts of hybridity and third space (2012). Bhabha's hybridity constructs in rejection of what he qualifies as Western hegemonic perspectives on knowledge based on binary oppositions (Abogo, unpublished). According to Moje et al., Bhabha's hybridity "posits that people in any given community draw on multiple resources or funds to make sense of the world" (2004, p. 42). To summarise it, Bhabha's hybridity defines the knowledge or practices that are located "in-between" and draw from different sites of knowledge that are typically dichotomised (Bhabha, 2012). This postcolonial perspective reflects in this study as the final theory builds upon the concept of third space, and so a perspective on French rap and its use in the classroom by participants that moves beyond binaries and dichotomies.

5.5.3. Philosophical perspective: Rhizome

This study finally draws from postmodern philosophy too. Best qualify postmodern philosophy as "[deconstructing] modern binaries" and "organised around the concepts of plurality, multiplicity, and decentredness, and attempts to help create new postmodern forms of thought, politics, and subjectivity" (1991, p. 85-86). Thus, postmodern philosophy shares with postcolonialism a rejection of established structures, categories, and binary oppositions. It is in this sense

that Kaya (2007) introduces a postmodern philosophical concept in line with Bhabha's hybridity and third space: Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome (1988).

A rhizome is a structural network free of hierarchy, having no starting point nor end, in which all points or elements are interconnected (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). The rhizome model allows to challenge hierarchies and binaries as "it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988, p. 25). According to Kaya (2007), the rhizome is an adequate perspective to understand how hybridity and third spaces are structured. The rhizome embeds Deleuze's principle of multiplicity, implying that the multiple is self-organised and exists independently from unity (Deleuze, 2007, p. vii). In short, the rhizome is an "image of thought" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988, p. 379) that may be used as an analytic model that embraces multiplicities, rejects hierarchical orders, and solely focuses on how different elements of a structural network connect together.

The rhizomatic perspective is used in this study for constructing the final theory. Indeed, the final theory consists of the depiction of a rhizomatic structure in which elements emerging from the raw data, data analyses, and literature reviews are interconnected, constituting a system that has no end nor beginning. The final theory must be symbolically "in the middle" of all its elements and thus reflect their interconnectedness. Nevertheless, one should note that the final theory is not a synthesis of all its composition elements as this would imply a notion of unity. In accordance with the multiplicity principle of the rhizome, the final theory embeds and reflects the multiplicity of the relationships structuring its various elements and contexts.

6. THE FINAL EMERGING THEORY

First thing to be noticed before further elaborating on the theory is that during interviews, participants would talk much more about their overall teaching strategies and the specificities of their schooling context than of their use of French rap in the classroom, although they knew this was the central focus of the research. As a matter of fact, it sometimes was even challenging for me to keep the focus on the use of French rap in the classroom during the interview. Even with precisely targeted questions, participants would be quick to drift from this teaching practice towards the context of schooling that surrounds it. This statement reveals that participants' use of French rap in the classroom in peripheral schools (T.C.5.) is context-contingent. In fact, the main difficulties relating to this context of schooling translate into two dichotomies perceived by participants:

First, students' and teachers experience of schooling in peripheral schools is significantly impacted by socio-cultural tensions (T.C.1.) due to the nature of its student population –homogenous in terms of socio-economic status while culturally diverse. In practice, these socio-cultural tensions translate into a gap between the School's norms of socialisation and students' own norms, considering a significant share of culturally uprooted students (T.C.7.) in peripheral schools.

Secondly, students' cultural uprooting constitutes a challenge for teachers for it compromises the ideal completion of the Republican School's leading missions that consist of training future citizens. The higher significance of cultural uprooting in peripheral schools, compared to more advantaged school settings, impacts on teachers' job who ultimately need to prioritise the socialisation of students over the mere teaching of curricular content knowledge. This socialisation job implies pedagogical strategies aiming at allowing students to appropriate dominant or 'legitimate' cultural codes (T.C.2.). In other words, peripheral School teachers' commitment to Republican universalism and the Republican model of integration (T.C.4.) requires contextual adaptation of their teaching practices in terms of aims and methods. The significance of these pedagogical contextual adaptations is sufficient to assume the dichotomisation of peripheral School and other school settings – understood as more advantaged school settings – (T.C.6.). Therefore, the completion of the Republican School's missions requires teachers to overcome those two dichotomies (T.C.6.; T.C.7.).

Considering this particular context in which the use of French rap in the classroom occurs, such a practice represents a contextual adaptation strategy that teachers use in order to fulfil the key missions of the Republican School:

Using French rap as a pedagogical tool constitutes an instance of teachers and students' co-construction of a class, a student-centred approach which participants define as essential. Indeed, featuring French rap allows to bridge School and students' out-of-school reality (T.C.9.). This bridge building is especially facilitated by French rap's cultural hybridity (T.C.3), or more specifically by the fact that French rap acts as a de facto third space (T.C.8). In practice, French rap allows to bridge two separate spheres as it located in-between and draws on both. In the case of French rap, those separate spheres often correspond to socio-cultural circles. For example, the language of French rap locates in-between dominant and popular language practices. Also, the genre draws from popular and foreign literary traditions as well as from the 'legitimate' French literature. In the context of this research, participants take advantage of the hybrid/third space attributes of French rap in order to connect students' personal experiences and interests to School, and allow them to appropriate the School's 'legitimate' knowledge and socialisation codes. Therefore, the use of French rap as a pedagogical tool represents here an instance of Moje's second type of educational third space: "a navigational third space—a space, in other words, in which young people come to understand the conventions and practices of different discourse communities" (Moje et. al., 2004, p. 53). In other words, participants' use of French rap in the classroom contributes to filling the gap between culturally uprooted peripheral school students and the School's norms of socialisation, thence it helps overcome the dichotomy featured in the theoretical codes T.C.7.

In fact, overcoming this dichotomy has an impact on the other one dividing peripheral School and other school settings (T.C.6.). Indeed, once students' cultural uprooting no longer represents an obstacle to their learning, teachers can afford to further focus on the teaching of curricular content knowledge. In these terms the experience of the peripheral School, for both teachers and students, becomes more similar to the one of other school settings. Moreover, an increased focus on curricular content knowledge in peripheral schools should logically contribute to the enhancement of students' academic success. Such an improvement in students' school achievement allows to ideally break down, or at least reduce, the peripheral School–other school settings dichotomy that also builds upon the academic achievement gap between its two

categories. In that sense, since participants' use of French rap as a pedagogical tool contributes to the overcome of the School's norms of socialisation–culturally uprooted students dichotomy (T.C.7.), one can argue that such a pedagogical strategy contributes to breaking down the other dichotomy (T.C.6) as well. In short, the use of French rap in the classroom contributes to making the experience of the peripheral School more akin to the one of mainstream school.

Additionally, participants go against Butlen, Peltier-Barbier & Pézard's (2002) and Rochex, Francia, Greger and Le Breton's (2011) claim that students' socialisation lag tends to push teachers to lower their academic achievement expectations towards students, which ultimately increases the gap between REP and non-REP schools. Indeed, the use of French rap in the classroom represents a contextual pedagogical adaptation that contrasts with lowering expectations. Participants' principle of not lowering expectations is thus consistent with the ideal of reducing the gap between peripheral schools and other schools, and the use of French rap as a pedagogical tool goes along with this principle.

To put the final emerging theory in a nutshell, participants' use of French rap in the classroom is context-contingent as it is framed by the specific context of schooling (T.C.5.) in which it occurs and formal commitment to Republican universalism (T.C.4). When participants feature French rap in the classroom, they take advantage of the genre's hybrid/third space characteristics (T.C.3. ; T.C.8.) in order to bridge in- and out-of-school experiences (T.C.9.). This thus creates a "navigational third space" (Moje et. al., 2004, p. 53) allowing students to surmount cultural uprooting (T.C.1.) as they learn to appropriate dominant socio-cultural codes (T.C.2.). Not only does such a strategy help overcome the School's norms of socialisation–culturally uprooted students dichotomy (T.C.7.), but it also contribute to reduce the gap between peripheral School and other – more advantaged – school setting (T.C.6.) as it facilitates teachers' focus on the teaching of curricular content knowledge and so the expected improvement of students' academic performance.

As previously mentioned in the section positioning the emerging theory within academic fields and disciplines, the final theory draws on postmodern philosophy as it implies a rhizomatic perspective. Indeed, the theory is rooted in concepts such as hybridity and the postcolonial concept of third space essence of the theory is rooted in the fact that the use of French rap is the

classroom is context-contingent. Such a context-contingency entails that each and every element of the context surrounding the use of French rap in the classroom need to be taking into consideration in order to make sense of the theory. In practice, the different phases of data analysis tend to demonstrate the interconnectedness of those elements (initial codes, categories, and core categories). This interconnectedness reveals that the theory does not consist of a hierarchical structuration of the elements that compose it, but of a network built upon all elements simultaneously. In line with the rhizome's principles, this network constitutes a structure that has no beginning nor ending, with all elements positioning in the middle.

Through the process of building the initial emerging theory, Figure 15 was previously used to depict how French rap, and the use of it in the classroom (C.Ct.4.) simultaneously shares direct relationship with all core categories. However, fails to reveal the rhizomatic perspective that is now applied to the final theory. Indeed, C.Ct.1. and C.Ct.3. remain separate in Figure 15**.**

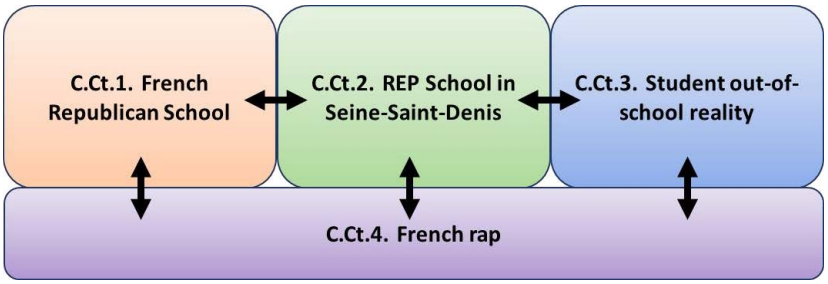


Figure 15 *Core categories' relationships*

Figure 16**,** which structure is inspired by the one representing the third space (Figure 14), allows to display how French rap, and the use of it in the classroom (C.Ct.4.) positions in-between all other core categories and thus create an interconnectedness. This type of representation shows how new relationships are created through C.Ct.4 between core categories that opposed themselves within dichotomies' frameworks (D.1. and D.2.).

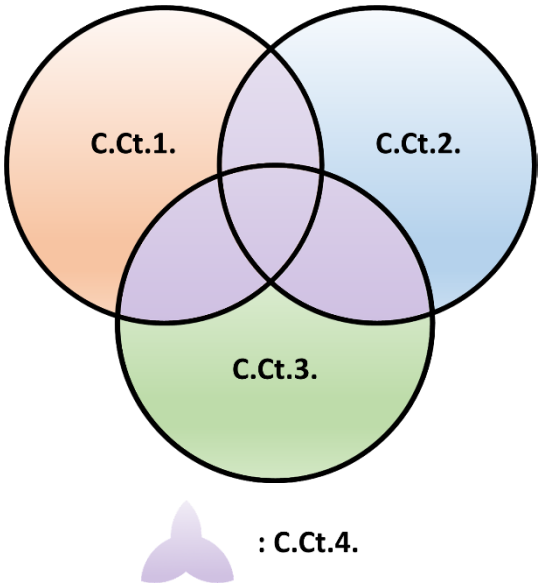


Figure 16 *Representation of the interconnectedness of the core categories*

The emerging theory implies that French rap allows to overcome dichotomies because it turns binary oppositions – qualified by the lack of relationships between given core categories/conceptual sites (D.1. and D.2.) – into a rhizome. The use of French rap in the classroom is thus inseparable from the context within which it occurs (French Republican School, REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis, and students' out-of-school realities). Figure 17 illustrate the rhizomatic interconnectedness of all elements composing the final theory by highlighting some of the existing relationships between initial codes and categories.

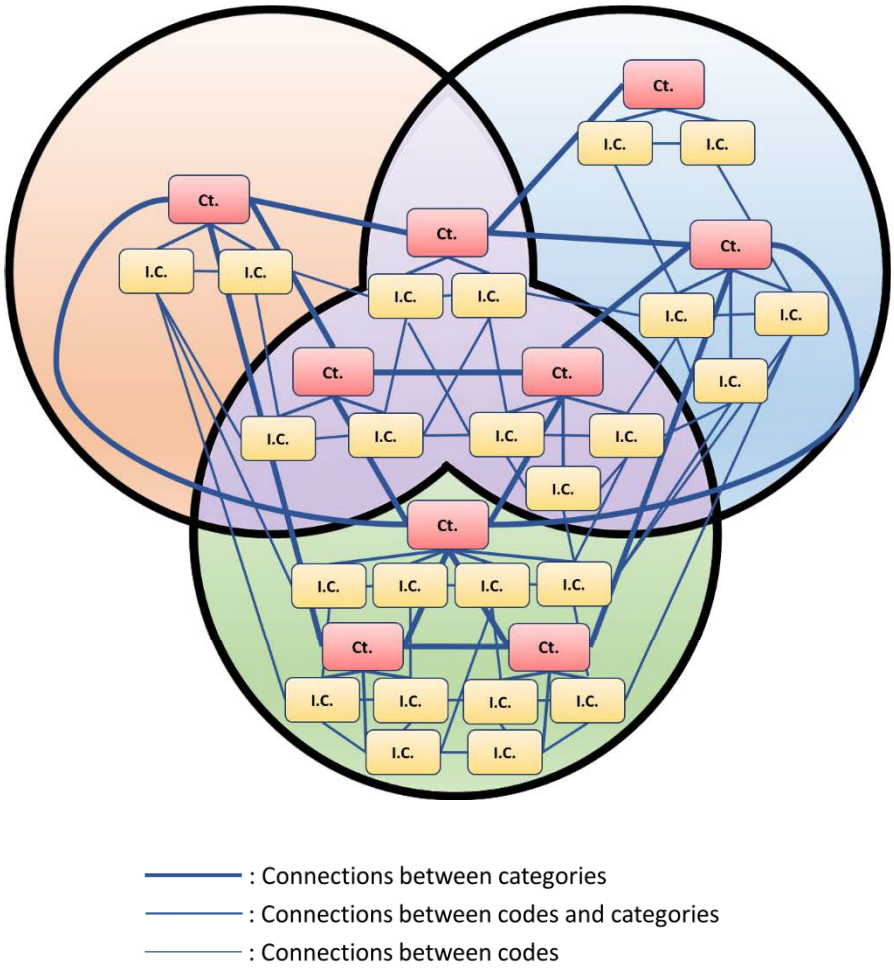


Figure 17 *Rhizomatic representation of the interconnectedness of initial codes, categories, and core categories*

7. DISCUSSION & ETHICAL REFLECTION

7.1. Significance of the emerging theory

While the main topic and focus of this research is the use of French rap in the classroom, it is interesting to note that the emerging theory demonstrates a much greater focus on contextual elements surrounding the practice than on the practice itself. In fact the emerging theory starts by stating that the use of French rap in the classroom by Seine-Saint-Denis REP and REP+ middle school teachers is context-contingent. For this reason, I consider that the emerging theory successfully provides an answer to the research question that matches its scope, since the emphasis was on the relation between participants' use of French rap as a pedagogical tool and their specific context of schooling.

The emerging theory partly builds upon the statement that although French rap and peripheral schools are two different concepts – a musical genre/culture and a formal institution – they both encounter similar issues of cultural tensions. Indeed, phenomena of marginalisation are observed in both cases, from the treatment of French rap by mass media to the labelling effect of the REP policy for example. As a result of the comparison of literature review, the data, and the emerging theory, the concept of cultural uprooting appears to apply to both the youth originally producing French rap, and peripheral School students. Both French rap and peripheral School students seem to be excluded from the dominant culture and aim at integrating it. This observation reveals the fact that this research results in the exposure of matters of cultural legitimacy and cultural systems of domination, hence its deduced theoretical underpinnings notably drawing on the sociology of knowledge and cultural studies. Indeed, questions of cultural integration of migrants and culturally uprooted youth, and French rap to the dominant cultural spheres remain central to the emerging theory. The impact of public policies and national ideology, such as REP policy and the Republican model of integration, on those cultural integration concerns is also highly emphasised throughout the emerging theory. As a consequence, the final product of this research raises more questions about cultural legitimation and integration than it can provide recommendations for peripheral School teachers. This acknowledgement first makes me believe this study fails to fulfil its original purpose as I originally started it hoping it could be useful to suburban REP school teachers and help them understand the benefits and implications of using French rap in the classroom.

I now realise that the actual outcome of this research is that it theorises and reveals issues participants face – in this case in terms of cultural tensions – and the innovative strategies they employ to surmount them, as well as their perception of French rap as a cultural product and how they act upon it. In fact, this research may not be so useful to peripheral teachers, it should rather be seen as a means to share participants' experiences and perspective that can potentially contribute to on-going academic discussions on the impact of public policies, systems of cultural domination, cultural legitimacy and integration, French rap or the peripheral School among others. To put it in a nutshell, if this research cannot help participants, participants can help the Research. This observation finally makes me think of this research as a success. Indeed, while this research may not directly support peripheral School teachers in their job, I think it is much more important to make sure their experiences are heard, acknowledged, and considered. Considering the hardship of their job and the remarkable efforts they put in creating innovative strategies to overcome difficulties, those teachers remain the most reliable experts when it comes to studying their context of schooling. I thus firmly believe that research dealing with peripheral School should necessarily be rooted in teachers' perspectives. In this sense, I assume that adopting a Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology with phenomenographic leanings was an appropriate approach to this research.

Another observation is that the emerging theory justifies the account of French rap as a postcolonial (differing from post-colonial) product. Following the postcolonial studies paradigm, the question of positioning French rap within French cultural traditions (between dominant and popular), or the issue of students' cultural uprooting, can only find a solution through the emancipation from western-dominant binary opposition (embodied as dichotomies in this research), notable through the postcolonial concept of third space that moves beyond cartesian oppositions. Understanding the emerging theory also requires this same emancipation from binary perspectives as well as from hierarchical structures of knowledge as the theory is understood through the interconnectedness of all its element and the notion of multiplicity – which represent the very definition of 'context-contingency' in this case. This emerging theory thus supports the study of French rap for postcolonial studies.

7.2. Limitations of the research

As a recommendation for further research, a more detailed holistic study about the different uses of French rap in the classroom by participants would be interesting. Indeed, the approach to this research tends to generalise those practices and does not sufficiently reflect their diversity. In fact, the types of use French rap in the classroom vary a lot among my participants (Issaba making songs, Joséphine making students write lyrics and rap, Suzanne and Inès using rap texts to teach about racism), some participants even demonstrate different practices (Yasmine using text to teach about literature and/or grammar + workshop). This research is not holistic in the sense that it does not deal with the specific implications of each practices. For example, Yasmine's approach is much more rooted in defending French rap as a French literary tradition than Issaba's – although Issaba contributes to it too, he does not mention it as one of his goals. One reproach that could be addressed to this study is that some practices may illustrate the emerging theory more than others, as the emerging theory builds upon the most recurring issues encountered through the data and does not grant enough importance to exceptions and specificities.

As a last note, readers should bear in mind that this study consists of a micro-level analysis of participants' experience of their practice. Although this analysis leads to the abstract theorisation of concrete empirical facts, the emerging theory is not meant to and should not be generalised, or in other words, brought to a consideration from a macro-level perspective.

7.3. Ethical reflection

All participants accepted to participate to the research on a voluntary basis after acknowledgement of the research topic, purpose, modalities, and their rights as participants, with the possibility to withdraw from the research at any time, without justification. Prior the conduct of interviews, participants signed informed consent forms (see Appendix 4.).

The anonymity of participants in this research is ensure by the use of pseudonyms and the non-disclosure of personal information potentially leading to the identification of individuals. In this sense, mentions of precise locations (towns, neighbourhoods) and name of schools have been replaced by brackets indication the type of sensitive information that is kept confidential (e.g. [local city]). Similarly, one participant mentions a famous rapper who grew up in the local

neighbourhood and attended the school he works at. Those two facts are relevant to the research and need to be mentioned, however, acknowledging the identity of this rapper could lead to the identification of the given neighbourhood, school, and so participants. For this reason, the name of this rapper has been replaced by a made-up pseudonym ([Azim]). Some quotes from participants about this rapper do not appear in this research as they mention his songs and video-clips in a too explicit manner that could lead to his identification.

The case of Issaba is somewhat different. Issaba being a public figure due to the success of his songs, there were no way to feature him into this research while keeping him totally anonymous, considering that his songs are at the core of the research. I thus added an option in the consent form allowing people with public notoriety to appear in the research under their artist's name. While I originally planned to interview other teachers from Issaba's school, I finally decided not to as Issaba sometimes refer to his school in songs or media interviews, which could lead to the identification of his colleagues.

Another ethical concern in this study is the approach to ethnicity. As mentioned, while literature on US HHBE is typically racially-focused, France adopt a universalistic tradition to the consideration of ethnic communities and does not allow formal census based up ethnicity or religion. Mentions of the cultural or ethnical identity of participants or students in this research are only depictions of participants' claims and never the result of my personal observation or interpretation. Although a study of issues of cultural systems of domination and cultural legitimacy in light of ethic factors for the case of French rap in the classroom can be relevant, it is not the purpose of this study. While some would argue that the study of cultural systems of domination and cultural legitimacy is inseparable from ethnic factors, I would like to remind readers that these two themes are the result of my theorisation process and not the starting point of this research. I thus had no evidence of the potential relevance of ethnic factors to this research before the end analysis of my data. Therefore, as part of the shift in my overall research approach following my 2019-fieldwork, I chose not to commit to HHBE paradigms and deal with the research free of ethnic focus in order to avoid confirmation bias. Participants' pseudonyms have thus been randomly attributed regardless of their potential cultural or ethnic identity. Any reflection of a participant's cultural or ethnical identity by their name is purely coincidental. I also deliberately choose to use the term 'ethnicity' instead 'race' – typically encountered in literature from the USA – in respect of the Valeurs de la République which consider the notion of race for humankind as problematic.

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1.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. List of codes

Initial codes:

I.C.1. Creating a universal French School culture

I.C.2. Commitment to the "Valeurs de la République"

I.C.3. The REP School as a different school

I.C.4. REP as a marginalising policy

I.C.5. REP and non-REP schools: obvious inequalities

I.C.6. Need of pedagogical adaptation

I.C.7. Not lowering academic expectations

I.C.8. Student-centred approach to teaching

I.C.9. Teachers and students' co-construction of the class: Bridging in- and out-of-school knowledge, skills, and cultures

I.C.10. Teaching beyond the content knowledge: the humane dimension of teaching in Seine-Saint-Denis REP schools

I.C.11. Socialisation lag

I.C.12. Teaching students to travel through society

I.C.13. Multiculturality

I.C.14. Local cultural codes

I.C.15. Significance of French rap in students' out-of-school environment

I.C.16. Disadvantage environment and low socio-economic status

I.C.17. Social exclusion

I.C.18. French rap's close relationship to the French language

I.C.19. French rap as a French literary tradition

I.C.20. French rap as a social, cultural and generation bridge

I.C.21. French rap as more than a musical genre: Rap's politics

I.C.22. French rap as an educator and a motivation

I.C.23. Use of French rap in the classroom: Keep it real – doing it well as a conditio sine qua non

I.C.24. Use of French rap in the classroom: facilitating teaching aims and strategies

Categories:

Ct.1. The French Republican School's mission: training future citizens

Ct.2. The REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis as a different school

Ct.3. Teaching practices in REP schools in Seine-Saint-Denis: contextual adaptations:

Ct.4. Aims of the REP School: the significance of socialisation:

Ct.5. Students' cultures and out-of-school environment:

Ct.6. Cités in Seine-Saint-Denis as a disadvantaged environment

Ct.7. French rap as a French cultural tradition

Ct.8. French rap as a social, cultural and generation bridge

Ct.9. Use of French rap in the classroom

Conceptual sites:

C.S.1. Mainstream school settings

C.S.2. REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis

C.S.A. School's norms of socialisation

C.S.B. Students with socialisation lag

Core categories:

C.Ct.1. French Republican School

C.Ct.2. REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis

C.Ct.3. Student out-of-school reality

C.Ct.4. French rap

Dichotomies:

D.1. REP School in Seine-Saint-Denis vs. Other school settings

D.2. School's norms of socialisation vs. Students with socialisation lag

Theoretical codes:

T.C.1. Socio-cultural tensions

T.C.2. Appropriation of dominant cultural codes

T.C.3. Hybridity

T.C.4. Republican universalism

T.C.5. Peripheral School

T.C.6. Dichotomy: Peripheral School–Other school settings

T.C.7. Dichotomy: School's norms of socialisation–Culturally uprooted students

T.C.8. French rap as a third space

T.C.9. Bridge building

Appendix 2. **Table 1.** *Codes (initial codes, categories, core categories)*

I.C.1.	**Ct.1.**	**C.Ct.1.**
I.C.2.		
I.C.3.	**Ct.2.**	**C.Ct.2**
I.C.4.		
I.C.5.		
I.C.6.	**Ct.3.**	
I.C.7.		
I.C.8.		
I.C.9.		
I.C.10.	**Ct.4.**	
I.C.11.		
I.C.12.		
I.C.13.	**Ct.5.**	**C.Ct.3.**
I.C.14.		
I.C.15.		
I.C.16.	**Ct.6.**	
I.C.17.		
I.C.18.	**Ct.7.**	**C.Ct.4.**
I.C.19.		
I.C.20.	**Ct.8.**	
I.C.11.		
I.C.22.		
I.C.23.	**Ct.9.**	
I.C.24.		

Appendix 3. **Table 2.** *Initial codes and illustrating quotes*

Initial codes	*Illustrating quotes*
I.C.1. Creating a universal French School culture	**Lucas:** "It is true that the French teacher's goal, I've been starting to understand this, is to give them a new vocabulary too. […] That means, trying to teach them to master a language that they don't master, which will allow them to… […] dialogue with authors, that are supposedly far from them, with cultural universes that are far from them, of which they may think are not made for them."
I.C.2. Commitment to the "Valeurs de la République"	**Yasmine:** "At the same time I don't want to… impose myself as an adult… to [the rap students] like. Though, for some issues, I take the freedom to do it, because that's my job! Like, as soon as lyrics are homophobic… sexist… then I do! For instance, in my choice of rap texts… if the Valeurs de la République aren't respected… I cannot integrate it to my course. If a text is antisemitic, which is often the case… I mean, which is a common drift in rap, so if a text is antisemitic, homophobic or dissing women… that makes it hard! It's complicated! And concerning those topics… I try to make [students] understand they should take it with a grain of salt."
I.C.3. The REP School as a different school	**Researcher:** "You still recognize it's a complicated job, don't you? I'm thinking about the general assembly yesterday [which she attended]." **Suzanne:** "That's such a shitty job! That's an extremely difficult job where challenges are just… But… regarding what I am, clearly… clearly it makes me a better person, I think."
I.C.4. REP as a marginalising policy	**Researcher:** "Did you choose to come teach here, in that middle school? In that kind of environment?" **Inès**: "At first, not. And… when I got the [teaching] certification they didn't give me a choice. At first, I wasn't so… enthusiastic about it, haha, to be honest. Well, haha! "What will happen there? How will it be?" I didn't come from that environment… Not easy! But now, I don't see myself teaching somewhere else." **Yasmine:** "We tell [students]: "Well… You wanna try the Science Po entrance exam? So listen, the problem is, it's not for you…". Alright, positive discrimination and so… they have a Science Po preparatory class, they have places reserved for REP schools, alright."
I.C.5. REP and non-REP schools:	**Issaba:** "Same thing, you know, in primary school. Here there were primary school in [name of a local city] one and a half year ago, for a while they hired primary school teachers… from

obvious inequalities	the job centre! Because the situation was shitty and they didn't have enough primary school teachers. So…" **Researcher:** "So they hired non-qualified people?" **Issaba:** "Yes! Or people who just started the job. While you won't see this in the 16th arrondissement! This is not something you'd ever see in the 16th. So they accumulate lacks from 5th or 4th grade... Students with non-qualified teachers… Mathematics start in 1st grade! It doesn't start in 6th grade. So they're coming in 6th grade, they still don't know how to solve an addition, then you can't… There's no magic trick! […] There are more lacks in some places than others."
I.C.6. Need of pedagogical adaptation	**Guillaume:** "We, the teachers, since we have a significant freedom of pedagogy we can… reduce the gap [between students and curricula]. But yeah, curricula, if we're talking about History and Geography, they are not necessarily adapted to… what students should know… nowadays. So, there are parts of the curriculum… that we go through too quickly and that'd be relevant, like colonisation or… that kind of things, even though the curriculum is generally well adapted. I mean, it got adapted, let's say. But there's still a gap… But it's our job… with our freedom [of pedagogy]… to try to reduce it, as well as we can do."
I.C.7. Not lowering academic expectations	**Yasmine:** "I think when you are in an environment… and easier school… maybe you got more time to really focus on the subject you teach. French, Maths, History… While here, we have to… we have to be in constant pedagogical innovation, because… because we have to make [students] fall back on the school path. Not all of them! For some of them it just works very well. But the average level is rather fragile, so we can't… I think we shouldn't diminish our expectations because that wouldn't help them. We need to keep up with high expectations, while… trying to keep everyone following along, so… you must be constantly strong, constantly innovating… while remaining simple! Because if it's too complicated you lose them."
I.C.8. Student-centred approach to teaching	**Suzanne:** "I think if you're only interested in your subject you won't be a good teacher. If you don't like kids, especially teens, just give it up, that job isn't for you. So, I think you have to make the effort of understanding their culture, language, social environment…"
I.C.9. Teachers and students' co-construction of the class: Bridging in- and out-of-school knowledge, skills, and cultures	**Yasmine:** "If you tell them how [to use their personal knowledge], they can do it. […] "You have to use school knowledge, but what you live on your daily life, what you listen to, what you're watching… everything can nourish a reflection on the world." […] so I think it's important to explain them… that no culture is above another."

I.C.10. Teaching beyond the content knowledge: the humane dimension of teaching in Seine-Saint-Denis REP schools:	**Joséphine:** "I think [students] come here and they are… In both cases [privileged schools and REP schools] I think they are happy, I mean they don't realise that they're happy to go to school. Though in privileged schools they are not happy to come, but they're happy to learn. Here, they're happy to share something, I think it's the humane side of it, it's above the teacher side! I realise it's not necessarily my subject I am teaching in the first place. It's really… listening, it's really… many other things and there's a closeness here which isn't to be found elsewhere. They got retort, they got humour! Things they need to express, and that you don't find in privileged schools."
	Inès: "I acknowledged that fact that teaching is not only teaching… for a long time now."
	Yasmine: "[…] in any case I know for sure that teachers who don't take into account the humane dimension they don't last long here. That is for sure."
I.C.11. Socialisation lag	**Inès:** "Though… hahaha, problems… I think it's not a myth, uh. Discipline and behaviour problems etc… that's something, they are very heavy!"
	Inès: "Either because [students] are allophones, or because they are… I don't know, they can be born here but speak much more… […] another language at home, and also maybe sometimes sort of only speak the cité's language."
I.C.12. Teaching students to travel through society	**Lucas:** "It is true that the French teacher's goal, I've been starting to understand this, is to give them a new vocabulary too. […] That means, trying to teach them to master a language that they don't master, which will allow them to… […] dialogue with authors, that are supposedly far from them, with cultural universes that are far from them, of which they may think are not made for them."
	Lucas: "I must teach them how to… travel within society, adapt their vocabulary, just like I always did, I don't speak... how to say… to my parents like I speak to my friends […] they must learn how to… offset language"
	Lucas: "And for evolving through some of the spheres of society, you must use another language than the one from the hood. That's it!"

	Suzanne: "They must learn to use different levels of language wisely. They don't know how to do so."
	Joséphine: "I think school… nowadays, school must teach them a more formal way of speaking […] I think it's important that they learn how it is [in other spheres of society]."
	Inès: "And that's extremely important though… to learn a language… […] in my case that's the French language I'm trying to teach my students… learning a language that's… being able to express oneself! […] If I am interested in teaching… that's also because I want… everyone to be able to express themselves within the social space."
I.C.13. Multiculturality	**Issaba:** "[…] because in general, in cités, there are people that… I mean… there a lot of people that… have a migration background, so simply! […] A majority of people living in cités have a migration background. […] you must check the statistics, though I believe there is more than 70%, in any cité in France, you'll see at least 70% of the people… that have… at least one parent coming from migration, you know."
	Suzanne: "The have their own language!"
	Inès: "They have… ways of speaking too… that are different from each other. […] Either because they are allophones, or because they are… I don't know, they can be born here but speak much more… […] another language at home, and also maybe sometimes sort of only speak the cité language."
I.C.14. Local cultural codes	**Issaba:** "let's say there is the accent, or the sound, you know, the accent! Or the tone… that I have in the way I express myself. But it's really different for each. Because many… find… they find that when I talk I sounds like a 'kaï-ra' [verlan – figure of speech consisting of pronouncing the word backward – for "racaille" that translates into "scum", which is often negatively used to qualify delinquents and/or cités youth], that it sounds typically like cité, while others wouldn't think it at all. […] Then there is also… there is a vocabulary that is proper to each cité, you know! Some slangs are proper to cités, you know, they are relayed trough rap but really… often there are slangs that are specific to each cités. You see, in each cité there are slangs. For instance in [city in Seine-Saint-Denis], in my cité, there are words that I would use and no one would understand them here […] Even though here is a cité too, you see!"

Lucas: "I've been hearing tchips [kissing teeth – non-verbal communication feature common in several African countries] ever since I was born, it's in my street, at home, you know, in the neighbourhood or… let's say in the cités in which I lived. […] It's the same social milieu, I mean, if you don't understand that you won't get it! […] However… [students] know it well that they cannot tchip their mother when she asks them to do something important."

Guillaume: "I think they have… very specific codes! That's for sure! Definitely sure! Though according to my experience of teaching… not only in Parisian suburbs, yeah; they have their own codes here, notably… their language, huh? Their language, even their way of communicating with each other is quite specific I think."

Inès: "in cités it feels like [rap] is part of daily life… whether we like it or not, listen to it or not, it exists! I think it's here!"

Lucas: "The older ones were… into [rap], I remember we all were, they all used to talk about it! I remember, one day I found a handbag, you know in the playground, an older forgot it, there was… how to say, a Walkman with… […] That was the Suprême NTM [historically one of the first popular French rap band] inside of it! Which is a band I know very well! And I could clearly feel the interaction between my urbanism, the older guys from the hood, the population, and French rap."

I.C.15. Significance of French rap in students' out-of-school environment

Yasmine: "[Students] don't all listen to rap though! That's what is… it's more about their roots… not social, but cultural roots. I mean for example, students coming from Asian families are less into rap culture than others. And those… girls… Again there is a difference between girls and boys, they don't necessarily listen to the same ones. But in a general manner, they're all into [rap]!"

Yasmine: "[…] rap is a part of their world, in their daily life, so what can we do?"

Issaba: "[…] because, you know, since here they are… or in cités in general… you know we start from the premise that… It's not completely true, but we start from the premise that… they all like rap. Then it's not completely true, you know… but we start from the premise that they all like rap, they are a majority, you know. All of them, it's too much, but still, they are a majority."

	Guillaume: "[Rap] is an integral part of… the cultural capital of some cités youth I think, but not of all of them."
	Issaba: "[…] you see, they know, they know what a rhyme is, they know… they won't necessarily know how to define it with the appropriate words, but you know, they know what it is. They can recognize a rhyme, they can tell when there's some flow, when there's a punchline…"
I.C.16. Disadvantage environment and low socio-economic status:	"Ouais mec, ouais meuf, c'est là que j'enseigne / Montreuil, Saint-Denis, Ivry, Epinay-Sur-Seine / Des élèves en souffrance, élèves dissipés, des actes de violences et des guerres de cités / Mais la majorité finira diplômée." [Yeah, man, yeah, girl, that's where I teach / Montreuil, Saint-Denis, Ivry, Epinay-Sur-Seine / Suffering students, undisciplined pupils, acts of violence and inter-cités wars / But most of 'em will end up graduating] (GTI Great Teacher Issaba – Great Teacher Issaba – Rapématiques (Leçon 05: Remix 113), 2018d)
	Lucas: "[…] the Parisian cruelty towards suburbs exists. [Students] haven't experienced it, they don't know what it is! Paris, they don't go there! They do everything in [local city], they do everything in [nearby city], they do everything in [other nearby city], they do everything in [other nearby city], they go… they go to the local shopping mall… they go to the local hairdresser, they go to the local restaurants, they… they love the bendo [cité slang for neighbourhood], they love the hood, that's their thing!"
I.C.17. Social exclusion	**Yasmine:** "[Cités youth] are marginalised… of course! They are marginalised because of their skin colour… their names, their last names! Their religion for most of them, yes! […] They are marginalised… physically marginalised! Casual people that see three youngsters coming, wearing sweatpants, with black skin, necessarily they will have some reaction. Necessarily… we constantly observe those reactions. […] I mean… first, they are economically marginalised! […] They are constantly marginalised!"
	Inès: "I am very… I mean I keep myself very updated about all kinds of post-colonial issues. I think these are extremely important! […] I think we must recognize it, keep working against antisemitism, but we must also recognize the post-colonial trauma for what it is! And we must… we should be able to talk about it more!"
	Researcher: "Do you reckon this isn't recognized enough in France?"
	Inès: "Ah, it's not that it isn't recognized, I think there is… a wall of silence… over it!"

	Issaba: "Because I never was immersed in Hip Hop, in fact that's really the process of writing I was passionate about […] and rap, so basically writing even before rapping"
I.C.18. French rap's close relationship to the French language	**Suzanne:** "[…] what attracted me first.. at least in American rap, it is the sound! […] in France, that's the lyrics! […] That's the lyrics! And that's why I use it in class, as I'm a French teacher, that's because I find something extremely promising in there!"
	Suzanne: "I mean, rap is playing with words, this is an art in fact! That's such a magnificent art!"
	Suzanne: "There is such a strength! A strength of the words in French rap that is nowhere else to be found!"
I.C.19. French rap as a French literary tradition	**Suzanne:** "Ninho, Zola [rappers popular among students according to participants]… Zola I like it, first because he's called Zola [referring to the eponym classic 19th century French author] haha… For real! Considering the symbol, the reflection, from such a kid, because he's super young that kid! He graduated high school last year, I mean… […] This… this is super important that he drew this link: Zola – Les Rougons-Macquart [cycle of twenty novels by Zola], I mean Les Rougons-Macquart is… is the first form of social contestation. Zola, it's about J'accuse [I accuse, open letter by Zola to the French president accusing the government for the antisemitic and corrupted trial of soldier Dreyfus. The Dreyfus affair is typically studied at middle school during History and/or Civic Education courses as a historical illustration of injustice and discrimination] too! It's about the Dreyfus affair, that's all this, I mean that's such a strong symbolic!"
I.C.20. French rap as a social, cultural and generation bridge	**Yasmine:** "(Rap artists) are the biggest share in the [musical] market."
	Suzanne: "I think it's really broad now, isn't it? It became pretty eclectic."
	Yasmine: "The [local] youngsters [her students] feature in the [rap] videoclips from the older ones"
I.C.21. French rap as more than a	**Suzanne:** "I mean… [rap] is a means of expression, it's a means to be understood, it's a means to be heard, it's a means to say "No!"."

musical genre: Rap's politics	**Yasmine:** "In France I think there's this problem of identity crisis, which is… which is also the crux in rap, mainly." **Guillaume:** "And there's the question of inequalities too, and it's true that rap lyrics often refer to it… to inequalities, police abuse, that kind of things." **Yasmine:** "I did a whole work on school guidance and bad school guidance. And since it's a repeating theme in rap, I got a whole thing where I give [students] a bunch a quotes from different rappers where they insult guidance counsellors, where… they talk about boiler-making vocational studies [this vocational guidance is commonly negatively perceived in France and often used as an example of wrong school guidance for low-achievers in middle school left with no other study option – it is in that sense of guidance based on sole students' school result and regardless of their interests and professional ambitions that Yasmine refers to it here], etc. So we start from quotes to move on something else, here I really deal with school guidance, so here I only use rap as a trigger. **Yasmine:** "[…] that's a whole generation and an entire population that has been ghettoised and want to remember the French people that they are French too, and that they aren't from the first wave of migration, that they're from the second or third generation, and now that they're French we need to stop… ignoring them and leave and forget them in substandard housing, and I think rap becomes a spokesperson… of this will to show that we exist!"
I.C.22. French rap as an educator and a motivation	**Researcher:** "Did rap enlighten you about societal issues?" **Suzanne:** "Obviously! There's no doubt! That's for sure! In any case, I think it is one of the only spaces of expression where those things come out. We hear a lot [about societal issues in cités] on the news and so on, but media aren't talking about this, they talk about some shit happening, talk about what's wrong there but they ain't talking about [cités dwellers'] lives."
I.C.23. Use of French rap in the classroom: "keep it real" – doing it well as a condition sine qua non	**Issaba:** "The first goal [of my Maths rap songs] was to show them that rap… it's not necessarily [related to school subjects], it's more about showing them that rap is broader than what they think of it. It's broader than just… the sole fact of speaking about… those common topics that often come up, you know, like in Gangsta rap or in the current Trap [Trap refers to a specific kind of rap in terms of musicality which is often, though not necessarily, associated with specific themes in the lyrics that are close to those found in Gangsta rap: money, luxury habits, and illegal activities among others]"
I.C.24. Use of French rap in the	**Guillaume:** "[…] for some students with difficulties… if we talk about football or rap, for some of them, they'll get more into it… for this time. Then it doesn't mean they'll keep up

classroom: facilitating teaching aims and strategies	with the course all year long, but for a while they'll be like: "Oh, I know this! Yeah, what he talks about, I'm into that!". So they can… They feel like they have things to say, they know things and can participate in the class, and that is really positive!"
	Guillaume: "[…] there are many themes in Geography about urbanisation, the city, etc. And so rappers obviously have their word to say about… suburbs, the city, the way they are perceived in the city, how they can feel excluded or how they hope to integrate within the city. And so it's easier with some songs like… I told you about Grand Paris [song by French rapper Médine featuring several Parisian rappers and aiming to advertise cultural productions from cités with the refrain "La Banlieue influence Paname, Paname influence le monde" - Suburbs influence Paris, Paris influences the world] where there is this notion of globalisation where they explain that "Suburbs influence Paris, Paris influences the world", so this can help for understanding some concepts."
	Lucas: "I can… perfectly see the link between… French as a subject and the fact that… how to say… that rap is a lyrical discipline, that means it highlights the writing of texts. It especially was the case in the 90's, less in the 2000's, it's much less nowadays. In any case, that's my point of view."

Appendix 4. Informed consent form for participants

Formulaire d'information et de consentement de participation à une recherche

Ce formulaire vous fournit des informations générales à propos de la recherche, de ses objectifs et de vos droits en tant que participant.

Informations générales

Je suis Français, étudiant en Master international d'Education et Mondialisation à la faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Oulu (Finlande). Dans le cadre de mes études, je conduis une recherche sur les enseignements se référant à la culture Hip Hop ou à la musique Rap dans les établissements scolaires de banlieue. L'objectif de mon étude est de comprendre comment la culture Hip Hop et/ou le Rap peut être un levier pédagogique permettant aux élèves d'optimiser leur engagement dans les activités d'apprentissages.

Je sollicite votre consentement pour collecter des informations contribuant à la réalisation de ma recherche par le moyen d'observations et d'interviews. Bien que les interviews soient enregistrées vocalement, les enregistrements ne seront pas publiés et seront détruits après avoir été transcrits à l'écrit.

Toute information sera utilisée de façon anonyme dans le respect de votre dignité. Aucun détail personnel permettant l'identification des participants ne sera révélé à travers l'analyse et le report des résultats. Une attention systématique concernant la manipulation et le stockage des informations sera portée de façon à préserver la confidentialité. Une fois toutes les informations permettant l'identification des participants éliminées, les données finales seront soit détruites après soumission de l'étude à de l'université soit archivées électroniquement de façon sécurisée, suivant les directives des Archives des Données de Sciences Sociales de Finlande.

Dans certains cas particuliers, notamment pour les interviews de personnalités publiques, l'identité du participant peut être révélée moyennant son consentement.

Participation volontaire

Votre participation est tout à fait volontaire. Vous avez le droit de retirer votre participation à la recherche à tout moment et sans préjudice.

Vous pouvez obtenir des informations à propos du chercheur et le contacter librement à tout moment, ses coordonnées sont fournies à la fin de ce formulaire.

Confirmation d'information et de consentement

☐ Je désire participer à la recherche.

☐ J'autorise le chercheur à révéler mon nom d'artiste au travers de sa publication.

☐ J'autorise l'exploitation des interviews dans un but de recherches.

☐ J'autorise la conservation et l'archivage des informations fournies.

☐ Je n'autorise pas la conservation et l'archivage des informations fournies.

Date ___/___/20___

_____

Signature et nom (en lettres majuscules) du participant

_____

Signature et nom (en lettres majuscules) du responsable légal pour les participants mineurs

Chercheur

Valentin Chenier_____

Email : xxx

Tel : xxxxxxxxxx

Cette recherche est supervisée par :

UNIVERSITE D'OULU (FINLANDE), FACULTE D'EDUCATION

Pour plus d'informations à propos de l'éthique de la recherche et du consentement :

Finnish Board on Research Integrity

http://www.tenk.fi/en/ethical-review-in-human-sciences

Social Sciences Data Archive

http://www.fsd.uta.fi/aineistonhallinta/en/informing-research-participants.html#partIV-examples-of-informing-research-participants

http://www.fsd.uta.fi/aineistonhallinta/en/anonymisation-and-identifiers.html

Appendix 5. Interview template 1 – June 2019 fieldwork

INTERVIEW

I) Hip Hop :

1) Comment est-ce que tu définirais la culture Hip Hop ?
2) Quelle est ta relation personnelle à la culture Hip Hop ?

II) Hip Hop Pedagogy:

3) Peux-tu me décrire la façon dont tu fais usage du Hip Hop avec tes élèves, même quand il ne s'agit que de références à des éléments de cette culture ?
4) Pourquoi as-tu choisi d'utiliser du Hip Hop en classe ?
5) Comment tes élèves réagissent-ils lorsque tu utilises du Hip Hop en classe ?
6) Cela s'est-il montré bénéfiques pour les élèves ?
7) Pour tous les élèves ?
8) Cela t'a-t-il aidé au niveau didactique/pédagogique ?

III) Culture et connaissances personnelles des élèves et pédagogie :

a. La culture personnelle des élèves:

9) D'après toi, existe-t-il une « culture des cités »– c'est-à-dire des connaissances, compétences, attitudes et références culturelles typiques des cités ? Si oui, peux-tu les décrire ?
10) Penses-tu qu'il y ait un écart entre la culture des élèves et les matériels (manuels scolaires par exemple) et méthodes d'instructions ? Penses-tu que le programme d'éducation national est adapté au capital culturel de tes élèves ? et l'éducation nationale – l'institution (programmes officiels), la pédagogie de l'enseignant, les moyens de l'établissement (cohérence avec les programmes, l'adaptation de la pédagogie, possibilité de réaliser des projets – mettre en œuvre sa pédagogie, financements et partenariats) ?
11) Que fais-tu, ou que pourrait-on faire pour réduire cet écart ?
12) De quelle manière penses-tu que tes étudiants peuvent faire usage de leur culture personelle pour s'engager dans des activités d'apprentissage ?

b. Pédagogie culturellement pertinente (Culturally Relevant Pedagogy) ?

13) Selon toi, qu'est-ce que la pédagogie culturellement pertinente ?
14) Penses-tu qu'il est nécessaire ou avantageux de connaitre et comprendre la culture personnelle de ses élèves pour enseigner ?
15) La connaissance et compréhension de la culture personelle des tes étudiants influence-t-elle la façon dont tu enseignes ?

IV) Pédagogie Hip Hop (Hip-Hop-based education) :

16) Penses-tu que certains types d'élèves bénéficieraient plus de l'usage du Hip Hop à but pédagogique que d'autres ?
17) D'après toi, il y a-t-il un lien entre la culture Hip Hop et la « culture des cités » ?
18) Penses-tu que l'utilisation du Hip Hop à des fins pédagogiques est culturellement pertinente pour les élèves de cités ?
19) D'après toi, la pédagogie Hip Hop valorise-t-elle la culture personnelle des élèves de cité ?
20) Penses-tu que l'utilisation du Hip Hop peut aider les élèves de cité à faire usage de leur connaissances personnelles et en classe ?

Appendix 6. Interview template 2 – March and April 2020 fieldwork (final version, revised according to all preceding interviews)

INTERVIEW

I. Rapport au Hip Hop/Rap

1. Pour toi, c'est quoi le Rap ? Qu'est-ce que le Rap a de particulier ? Qu'est ce qui le différencie des autres genres musicaux ?
2. Définirais-tu le Rap français comme une culture ?
3. Quelle est ta relation personnelle avec le Rap ?
4. Qu'est ce qui te fait apprécier ce genre de musique en particulier ?
5. Le Hip Hop/Rap t'a-t-il éclairé sur certains problèmes sociaux ? Injustices, inégalités sociales et scolaire…
6. Le Rap a-t-il influencé ta manière d'enseigner ?

II. Contexte :

7. As-tu choisi toi-même de venir enseigner ici, en REP(+), en Seine Saint Denis ?
8. Est-ce la même chose d'enseigner en REP, en particulier en Seine Saint Denis, que hors-REP ?
9. Pense-tu que les élèves de cet établissement sont marginalisés du fait de leur classe sociale, lieu de résidence, origine ethnique/culturelle, religion ?
    - ⇨ Comment expliques-tu cette marginalisation ? Qui ou qu'est-ce que les marginalise ? Comment ? Pourquoi ?
    - ⇨ Faut-il adapter l'enseignement à ces types d'élèves ? Comment peut-on le faire ?

III. Le Rap en classe… pourquoi ?

10. Peux-tu m'expliquer pourquoi tu utilises du Rap comme outil pédagogique ?
11. Qu'est ce qui t'a inspiré ou donné envie d'utiliser du Rap en classe ?
12. Quel est le but de cette démarche ?
13. Pourquoi du Rap en particulier ?
14. Quels sont les résultats ?
    - ⇨ Comment cela fonctionne-t-il ? Quelles sont tes stratégies ?
15. As-tu constaté des résultats inattendus ?
16. Penses-tu qu'il devrait y avoir une place pour le Rap dans les programmes ? Pourquoi ? Comment pourrait-on faire ?

IV. Programmes, élèves… et Rap

17. Penses-tu que le système scolaire française/le programme soit ethnocentrique/eurocentrique ou même hégémonique ?
18. Penses-tu que le système éducatif et le programme d'éducation nationale soient adaptés aux (différents) types d'élèves que l'on rencontre dans cet établissement ?
    - ⇨ Cela correspond-t-il à la réalité de leur vie dans leur environnement ?
        - o Peuvent-ils s'identifier aux situations et personnages présentés à travers le contenu des cours ?

- Parle-t-on ici d'identification positive, encourageante, valorisante ? Ou au contraire réductrice, stigmatisante, discriminante ?
    - L'utilisation du Hip Hop/Rap en classe permet-il de rapprocher leurs identités et expériences de vie du contenu des cours ?

⇨ Si on prend en compte les élèves et leur famille, le système et le programme répondent-ils efficacement à leurs besoins, leurs attentes, leurs ambitions ?

19. Le système/programme adresse-t-il les inégalités sociales/scolaires dont seraient victimes certains élèves ?
    ⇨ Est-ce important pour ces élèves d'être conscient de ces inégalités ? de les comprendre ?
        - Penses-tu que le Rap peut les aider à comprendre ces inégalités ?

    ⇨ Utilises-tu des textes de rap pour discuter des problèmes sociaux auxquels tes élèves peuvent/pourrait être confrontés ?
        - Donc, tu utilises le Rap pour combler les manques du programme ?
            - Dans ce cas, pourquoi du Rap en particulier ? Utilises-tu d'autres types de supports ?
20. Le système scolaire français renforce-t-il ou reproduit-il les inégalités sociales ?
21. Mets-tu en avant les différences sociales, ethniques, culturelles… à travers le matériel utilisé ?
        - Le Rap peut-il faciliter ça ?
22. Penses-tu que l'utilisation du Rap en classe permet de s'éloigner des paradigmes traditionnels ? de défier l'hégémonie ?
23. Penses-tu que cela fait partie de ton métier de promouvoir l'égalité et la justice sociale ?

V. <u>Culture et connaissances personnelles des élèves</u>

24. Pour réussir, l'élève doit-il se débarrasser de certains éléments de sa culture/identité ? L'argot par exemple
    ⇨ Que penses-tu de ces formes culturelles ? Par exemple, penses-tu qu'il est important que les élèves maîtrise l'argot local ?
    ⇨ Il y a-t-il des tensions culturelles ?
    ⇨ Que fais-tu face à ça ? Adaptes-tu la façon dont parle en classe ? Chercher tu à valoriser l'argot des élèves ? Ou la français dit 'correct' ?
    ⇨ Cela t'arrive-t-il d'utiliser l'argot de tes élèves pour leur faire mieux comprendre ?
    ⇨ Faut-il mettre en valeur l'argot et les autres formes culturelles ?
    ⇨ *Je repense à l'autre jour quand tu parlais de l'inspecteur qui disait en avoir marre des profs qui utilisent des textes de Grand Corps Malade. Tu peux commenter là-dessus ?*
25. J'ai remarqué qu'une majorité d'élève écoutent du Rap ici. Penses-tu que ceux qui n'en écoute pas sont tout de même influencés par cette culture ?
    ⇨ L'argot par exemple, qui est aussi relayé par le Rap. Les élèves qui n'écoutent pas de Rap utilisent-ils aussi des expressions d'argot ?
26. Penses-tu que les cultures de tes élèves (style vestimentaire, argot, Rap, leur références culturelles…) et leurs connaissances non-scolaires (du pays d'origine par exemple) sont dévaluées par l'école de manière générale/considérées comme illégitimes ? Ou simplement ignorées ? Non mise à contribution ?

- Penses-tu que l'utilisation du Rap peut mettre en valeurs certains éléments de ces cultures et connaissances ?
- Cela peut-il permettre aux élèves d'utiliser ces dernières pour favoriser leurs apprentissages scolaires ?

27. Pour les élèves non-familiers avec la culture de l'école ou la « haute culture », le Rap peut-il agir comme un « pont culturel » ?
    - Est-ce une des raisons pour lesquelles tu utilises du Rap en classe ?
        - Penses-tu qu'il est important que ces élèves puissent avoir accès à ces formes culturelles ?
28. Donc pour résumer, l'intérêt principal de ta démarche est-il de permettre aux élèves de s'approprier une culture et des connaissances scolaire, ou au contraire de mettre leur propres cultures et connaissances au même niveau que celles valorisées par l'école ? Ou les deux ?

VI. Rapport des élèves au Rap

29. Sais-tu quel genre de rap tes élèves écoutent ? Qui sont les artistes phares et les titres du moment ?
30. Considères-tu que le Rap qu'écoutent les élèves reflète leurs expériences de vie ou du moins leur environnement ?
    - ⇨ Ou le Rap en général ?
    - ⇨ Discutes-tu du contenu des lyrics avec tes élèves ?
    - ⇨ Cherches-tu à les rendre plus critique vis-à-vis de ce contenu ?

VII. Student-centred approach

31. Dirais-tu que ta démarche est centrée sur les étudiants ?
    a. Est-ce une démarche participative ?
    b. Basée sur leurs connaissances ?
    c. Est-ce une démarche coopérative (élèves-élèves ou professeur-élève) ?
32. Qui est le meilleur prof ? Celui expert de sa matière, ou expert de ses élèves ?
    - ⇨ Penses-tu que les élèves sont des « experts » de leur apprentissage ? Dans le sens qu'ils se rendent compte de ce qui est efficace pour eux
    - ⇨ Peut-on enseigner efficacement sans connaître et/ou comprendre la réalité et les expériences de vie des élèves ?
33. Ton expérience professionnelle a-t-elle influencée ton intérêt pour/ta connaissance du Rap ?
34. Tes élèves ont-ils influencé ta manière de voir le Rap ?
35. Qu'est-ce que le rapport de tes élèves au Rap t'a appris de manière générale ?